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ABSTRACT

This report describes research on the impact of the Immigration Reform and Control Act of 1986 (IRCA), Public Law 99-603, on Mexico's economy and social structure. The purpose of IRCA is to control illegal immigration to the United States, and a key provision makes it illegal for employers to knowingly hire or continue to employ undocumented aliens. Since enforcement of employer sanctions began in June 1987, it is too soon to clearly identify and measure IRCA's effects. In addition, researchers differ as to the best method for measuring the flow of undocumented Mexican workers to the United States, and there is a lack of pre-IRCA baseline data on the Mexican economy and social structure. A meaningful assessment of IRCA's impact on Mexico requires a coordinated research effort by Mexico and the United States. Appendix I contains a map identifying the Mexican states which are the chief source of emigration, and it summarizes research covering: (1) history and characteristics of Mexican migration to the United States; (2) major impacted areas in the two countries; (3) characteristics of Mexican migrants; (4) numbers of undocumented migrants; and (5) IRCA's possible impact on Mexico's economy and labor force, and on the level of private remittances from the United States to Mexico. Appendix II is a 91-item annotated bibliography. (SV)

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United States General Accounting Office

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Briefing Report to the Honorable Dennis DeConcini, U.S. Senate

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February 1988

IMMIGRATION

Studies of the Immigration Control Act's Impact on Mexico

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United States
General Accounting Office
Washington, D.C. 20548

National Security and
International Affairs Division

B-227679

February 17, 1988

The Honorable Dennis DeConcini
United States Senate

Dear Senator DeConcini:

This report is in response to your letter of June 18, 1987, requesting that we identify government agencies, private organizations, and independent researchers who have studied or are in a position to study the impact of the Immigration Reform and Control Act of 1986 (IRCA), Public Law 99-603, on Mexico's economy and social and political structure. You expressed particular concern that the act might cause (1) the return of thousands of workers to Mexico, (2) a reduction in remittances sent from Mexican workers in the United States to their families in Mexico, and (3) additional social and economic pressures on Mexico's already strained political structure.

To address these concerns, we collected and reviewed information and research studies identified through computerized literature searches and through contacts with public, private, and academic entities in Mexico and the United States. We reviewed this information to identify studies that could provide baseline data on emigration from Mexico to the United States and on the economic, social, and political impact of such emigration on Mexico prior to the implementation of IRCA. Appendix II lists these studies, with brief summaries of their approaches and findings.

We also summarized the information which could be relevant to an assessment of IRCA's impact on Mexico, from the Mexican perspective, particularly the data assessing the following parameters: (1) the estimates of the numbers of legal and illegal Mexican workers in the United States and the flow of these workers in and out of this country, (2) the socioeconomic and demographic characteristics of the Mexican undocumented and immigrant workers, (3) the estimated level and use of remittances sent from these workers to Mexico, (4) the ongoing changes in Mexico's economy, and (5) relevant aspects of U.S.-Mexican foreign relations. (See app. I.)

The primary limitation of any such study of Mexican emigration is that it is presently too early to clearly identify IRCA's impact on any of the above areas. In our review of information and studies, we listed those individuals and entities which have conducted or are conducting

research on immigration, Mexico-to-U.S. migration, and the Mexican economy and, thereby, may be in an advantageous position to assess the impact of IRCA on Mexico. Mexican and U.S. policy analysts have called for a bilateral approach, by the two countries, for examining the impact of IRCA. Additionally, some researchers suggested that research activities could be coordinated by a central body.

Provisions of IRCA

The purpose of IRCA is to control illegal immigration to the United States and a key enforcement provision makes it illegal for employers to knowingly hire or continue to employ aliens who are unauthorized to work in the United States. The law authorizes the Department of Justice's Immigration and Naturalization Service (INS) to impose penalties on employers who knowingly hire or continue to employ undocumented aliens who are unable to qualify for the amnesty provision of the act or who are not eligible for the 7-year special agricultural workers' program.

The amnesty program provides temporary resident status for eligible aliens who have continuously resided in the United States in an unlawful status since before January 1, 1982. The agricultural workers' program provides temporary and subsequently, permanent resident status for eligible aliens who have performed seasonal agricultural services in the United States for certain prescribed periods of time. With some exceptions, the enforcement of the employer sanctions provision (including warnings and penalties) and the provision requiring employers to verify new workers' eligibility to work began June 1, 1987. The law also requires the Attorney General to begin proceedings as expeditiously as possible against aliens convicted of deportation offenses.

IRCA Effects on Mexico Not Yet Realized

Since uncertainty prevails about the initial effects of IRCA on Mexico and since enforcement of the employer sanctions provision of the law, with some exceptions, began in June 1987, it is too soon for researchers to clearly identify and measure the impact of IRCA on Mexico. The uncertainty is characterized by (1) Mexico's reactions to certain anticipated effects and a change in these reactions when the effects were not realized and (2) a disagreement among researchers about whether the flow of undocumented Mexican workers to the United States changed after passage of the law on November 6, 1986.

Mexican and the United States press have reported that Mexico initially anticipated (1) mass deportation of undocumented Mexican nationals

from the United States, (2) a significant reduction in the flow of undocumented Mexican workers to the United States, and (3) thousands of returnees flooding the Mexican labor market which has experienced approximately 1 million new workers entering each year. Mexico's current unemployment rate is estimated at 13 to 18 percent, with a combined unemployment and underemployment estimated rate of about 40 percent. The Mexican government issued an executive order in the spring of 1987 to establish an interministerial commission to handle the reintegration of returnees.

The U.S. government assured the Mexican government that the implementation of IRCA would not result in mass deportation. Lacking evidence of mass deportation and of significant changes in the return flow of migrants, the Mexican government did not fund any interministerial commission programs for the reintegration needs of returnees.

We could find no evidence indicating mass deportation nor are we aware of any studies since passage of the law on the change in size of the Mexican returnee population and the impact of these returnees on the Mexican labor market.

The use of two different methodologies and measures for assessing the flow of undocumented Mexican migration points out the difficulties in determining a basis to measure the impact of IRCA. For example, a 25 to 30 percent decline in Mexican border arrests reported by INS during the spring of 1987, as compared to the spring of 1986, could be considered indicative of a decrease in the flow of undocumented migrants and that the implementation of IRCA had slowed illegal immigration. The INS apprehension data may be one indicator of the inflow and/or outflow of undocumented migrants. However, the reliability of this data and its usefulness to estimate net change (increase or decrease) in the flow of undocumented workers is questionable because (1) the data indicate the number of arrests rather than the number of individuals arrested (i.e., this data is not an accurate source of the number of illegal migrants since individual migrants are known to be arrested more than once a year) and (2) the number of arrests depends on actual migrant flow, and the policies, reporting practices, budget and level of enforcement activity of the INS/Border Patrol.

In contrast, Mexican researchers studied illegal border traffic by taking photographs of and counting undocumented workers daily at a major border crossing several months before and after the passage of the law.

They concluded that there is no pattern of decline in the flow of undocumented workers to the United States and that the pattern has followed seasonal patterns of such flows over the past few years.

Recent reports indicate that rising or unchanged rates of emigration from Mexico to the United States is a reaction to various factors, including (1) reports of the lack of farm workers in the United States to harvest crops and garment industry workers during the spring, (2) reports on the delay (from June 1, 1987 to September 1, 1987) for imposing IRCA's employer sanctions, (3) problems in implementing the law, such as the lack of a system for employers to verify the authenticity of employees' authorizations to work and the facility with which undocumented workers can obtain falsified documents to comply with eligibility requirements to work, and/or (4) the continuing economic disparities between Mexico and the United States.

Research Sources and Expected Problems in Assessing IRCA's Impact on Mexico

Although, the bulk of the research we collected on emigration from Mexico was conducted by U.S. researchers from the U.S. perspective, some recent research studies have been made by the Mexican government and academic entities. For example, the Mexican legislature examined the potential effects of the then pending immigration legislation and Mexico's National Institute of Statistics, Geography, and Data Processing conducted an employment survey shortly after IRCA was enacted in January 1987.

The Commission for the Study of International Migration and Cooperative Economic Development was established by IRCA to examine, among other things, the conditions in Mexico and other sending countries in the Western Hemisphere which contribute to illegal migration. In November 1987 the Commission began to examine factors relating to trade and investment which contribute to conditions leading to unauthorized Mexican migration to the United States.

Both U.S. and Mexican researchers agree that problems will be encountered in measuring the impact of the U.S. immigration reform on Mexico, including the

- inconsistency in defining types of migrants such as seasonal, temporary, or permanent;
- lack of systematic data collection on the number and flow of undocumented migrants and returnees;

- lack of pre-IRCA baseline data on the Mexican labor market, remittances, and reintegration of returning migrants; and
- lack of coordination between the official data sources and independent researchers on this issue.

Given these problems and the sensitivity of the migration issue, some researchers have suggested that coordinated research objectives and efforts are required, within the United States as well as between the two countries, to meaningfully assess the impact of the IRCA on Mexico.

Bilateral Approach to Studying Immigration Issues Is Urged

At times the Mexican government has viewed its country's documented and undocumented workers in the United States as part of an international labor force and undocumented migration as a bilateral phenomenon shaped by interacting forces emanating from both sides of the border. The Mexican Senate conducted hearings which criticized the IRCA as legislation based on a unilateral decision without regard for Mexican needs. Mexican government officials, however, recognizing the sovereign right of the United States to determine its immigration policies, have taken the position that the immigration law is an internal matter of the United States and have refrained from commenting on the U.S. immigration legislative process. They expect the same reaction from the United States if the situation were reversed.

Some researchers and policy analysts, however, expect agreement could be reached on a bilateral approach to resolving immigration issues that result from IRCA. Such an approach has precedent in the 1942 "bracero agreement" between the two nations that created a migrant labor recruiting and contracting system for agricultural work, administered by Mexican and U.S. government agencies.

Additionally, there are other bilateral efforts between the two countries for resolving issues and problems. For example,

- the International Boundary and Water Commission was established by treaty and has operated in settling boundary and water disputes and
- a bilateral framework agreement, signed by the United States and Mexico on November 6, 1987, commits both countries to consultations on seven key areas of trade and investment relations and establishes a consultative mechanism for use in future trade disputes.

We did not request agency comments on this report because we did not evaluate the programs of any agencies and have no specific observations about any agencies or organizations. However, we discussed the results of our study with the Department of State, INS, and Mexican Embassy officials, and incorporated their comments where appropriate.

Copies of this report are being sent to the Department of State, INS, and the Mexican Ambassador to the United States. Copies are also being sent to appropriate congressional committees and will be made available to other interested parties upon request.

If you should have any questions concerning this report, please call me at 275-5790.

Sincerely yours,

Nancy R. Kingsbury
Associate Director

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Abbreviations

CENIET	Centro Nacional de Informacion y Estadisticas
CPS	Current Population Survey
GAO	General Accounting Office
GNP	Gross National Product
INS	Immigration and Naturalization Service
IRCA	Immigration Reform and Control Act of 1986
NIH	National Institutes of Health
PMSA	Primary Metropolitan Statistical Area
SAM	Social Accounting Matrix
SMSA	Standard Metropolitan Statistical Area

Summary of Research

History and Characteristics of Mexican Migration to the United States

Migration of Mexican workers to the United States has long been among the most sensitive political and economic issues the two nations face. The nature and extent of the impact that full enforcement of the Immigration Reform and Control Act of 1986 (IRCA) will have on migration is currently unclear, but debated extensively.

Migration has been motivated by a perceived economic opportunity and the chance to improve one's standard of living. Much of the historical literature on migration has focused on the "push" and "pull" factors motivating the movement of Mexican nationals to the United States. Currently, some researchers (see Mariscal, 1986, p. 59 and Chiswick, 1986, p. 31, app. II) assert that the immediate cause of migration is the proximity and economic differences in terms of labor force growth and wage rates of the two countries. Approximately 2,000 miles of border separates Mexico, which has a population of 80 million and a labor force growing at 4 percent a year, from the United States, which has a per capita income eight times higher than Mexico and a labor force growing at about 1 percent a year.

Yet, some researchers (see Massey et. al., 1987, p. 34 and Tienda, 1987, p. 39, of app. II) state that factors which initially generate migrant flows are often different from those which perpetuate migration over time. Thus, the need for economic improvements gives way to social forces which perpetuate migration flows. For example, as migrants form mutually beneficial relationships with employers and family networks across the border, the motivation for migration becomes more complex than economics alone and perpetuate migration.

Historically, the United States encouraged workers to come to this country in times of labor shortages. During U.S. economic slowdowns, Mexico and the United States have established or encouraged repatriation mechanisms, legalization measures, and/or other controls. These measures influenced the nature and volume of the flow of documented and undocumented workers.

Major Periods of Migration

The first major movement of workers across the border from Mexico occurred during 1909 through the 1930s. The violence of the Mexican Revolutionary War was the "push" factor and the labor shortage in the southwestern part of the United States, caused by events associated with World War I, was the "pull" factor.

The northward flow from Mexico to the United States continued until the 1930s when, between 1929 and 1932, over 300,000 Mexicans returned to Mexico because of depressed economic conditions in the United States. This pattern of flow reversed again during World War II. As a result of new manpower shortages, the United States entered an international agreement with Mexico in 1942, which inaugurated the bracero program. Under this program, the United States recruited and contracted for large numbers of temporary migrant workers for the agricultural and railroad industries. Although the program was a wartime measure, it operated for 22 years, primarily for the agricultural industry.

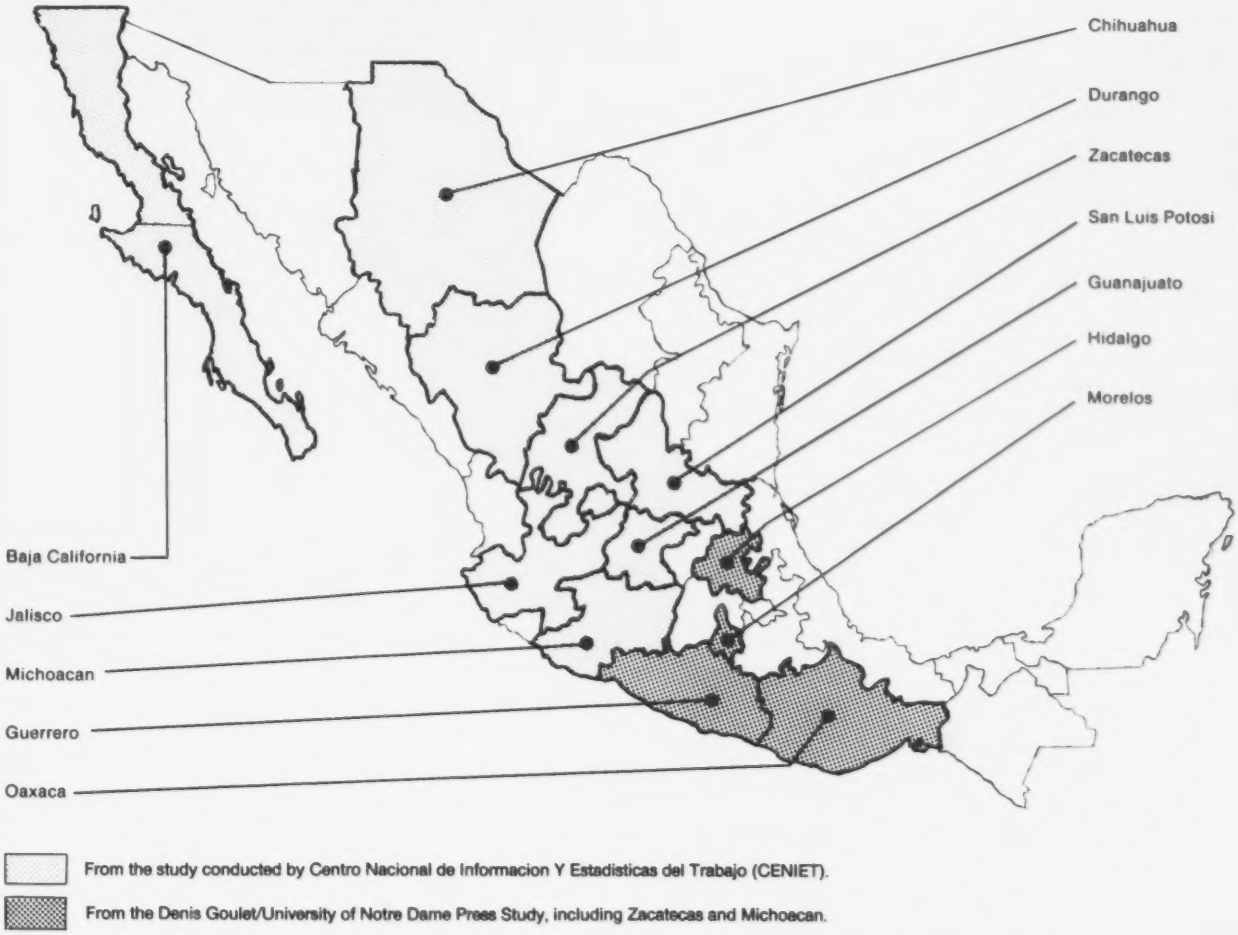
The bracero era established a precedent for hundreds of thousands of Mexican nationals to migrate annually both legally and illegally to perform short-term jobs in the United States. The termination of the bracero program in 1964 led not only to increased illegal or undocumented migration, but also to the creation of jobs through the establishment of U.S. manufacturing plants (referred to as "Maquiladora" plants) inside the Mexican border.

Major Impacted Areas

Migration of undocumented Mexican workers is regional in nature. Studies dating back to the 1920s confirm that the central plateau of Mexico is the major source of Mexican migration to the United States. These studies show that eight Mexican states—Guanajuato, Jalisco, Zacatecas, Michoacan, San Louis Potosi, Durango, Chihuahua, and Baja California—are the stable, primary source of migrants. The last two states border on the United States, as shown on the map in figure I.1. A household survey conducted in 1978-1979 by Centro Nacional de Informacion y Estadisticas del Trabajo (CENIET) showed that these states were still the major source of undocumented migrants in the United States. However, one researcher (see Goulet, 1983, p. 50, app. II) asserts that impoverished rural workers emigrate to the border areas and enter the United States from Oaxaca, Morelos, Guerrero, Zacatecas, Hildalgo, and Michoacan.

Both the studies dating back to the 1920s and the CENIET study indicate that over three-fourths of the migrants from these Mexican states flow to four U.S. southwestern states—California, Texas, Arizona, and New Mexico. (See Gregory, 1986, p. 54, app. II.) Another study notes that important states where migrants flow are Illinois, New York, and Minnesota in addition to California and Texas. (See Diez-Canedo-Ruiz, 1980, p. 61, app. II.)

Figure I.1: Major Source States of Mexican Emigration to the United States



Major Characteristics of the Mexican Migrants

Neither the United States nor Mexico has systematically collected baseline data on the characteristics of undocumented migrants. A few researchers, however, have conducted field surveys in both countries to establish a data base. (See Arizpe, 1983, p. 27; Bustamante, 1987, p. 42;

Chiswick, 1986, p. 31; Malina, p. 33; Massey et. al., 1987, p. 34; North and Houstoun, 1976, p. 60; and Taylor, 1987, p. 39, app. II).

Results show undocumented Mexican migrants average about 28 years of age. Several studies report these migrants average 4 to 5 years of completed schooling. Several studies claim males constitute a dominant portion of the Mexican undocumented population with findings ranging from about 60 to about 90 percent; however, a few other research studies note either that males are not significantly more likely to migrate to the United States than females or that the dominance of male undocumenteds is questionable. (See Chiswick, 1986, p. 31; North and Houstoun, 1976, p. 60; Taylor, 1987, pp. 38 and 62; Massey et al., 1987, p. 34; and Diez-Canedo-Ruiz, 1980, p. 61, app. II.)

These studies also state that most undocumented migration is seasonal and temporary. They report that undocumented Mexican migrants stay in the United States on average less than a year. Researchers also report that the migrants acquired several years of work experience in the United States through repeated stays. (See North and Houstoun, 1976, p. 60; Chiswick, 1987, p. 31; and Taylor, 1987, pp. 39 and 62, app. II.)

Various community studies noted that landholding families, including small farmers, migrated more often than poorer, landless families perhaps because they cannot afford the costs involved in illegal migration to the United States. (See Arizpe, 1983, p. 27 and Diez-Canedo-Ruiz, 1980, p. 61, app. II.)

Some research studies (see Arizpe, 1983, p. 27 and Massey et. al., 1987, p. 34, app. II), focusing on the social process of migration, emphasized that migration continues to originate in certain highly concentrated localities within the source states. This is due to tradition, networks of extended family relationships, and friendships with undocumented workers in the United States established over a long period of time. The tradition and network factors are interpreted as affecting the perceived costs and benefits of migration to the United States, since undocumented Mexican workers that have been located in the United States for some time tend to provide free refuge for newcomers until a job is secured and tend to have developed a good information base about employment opportunities in U.S. localities. Free refuge tends to reduce the illegal alien's migration costs and the employment information base tends to reduce uncertainty and the risk of migration.

Numbers of Undocumented Migrants

Estimates of the number of undocumented immigrants and changes in this measure over time vary widely because (1) researchers lack data and must make numerous assumptions which limit their study results, and (2) definitions of the migrants (e.g., seasonal, permanent, or temporary) are inconsistent. For example, the criteria are subjective for determining when a temporary worker who decides to remain in the United States should be classified as permanent. (See Levine et.al., 1985, p. 45, app. II.)

Several U.S. government agencies collect information on illegal immigrants. The Immigration and Naturalization Service (INS) collects information on persons arrested while attempting to enter the United States illegally. However, the information may not be accurately used to determine the number and characteristics of illegal aliens, because of the wide variety of conditions in which the data are collected and gaps in the processing of these data. Use of this information is also limited because it reflects the number of arrests, not individuals arrested—an individual may be arrested more than once—thus inflating the estimate of the number of undocumented migrants.

Until 1981, the INS maintained a registration system for aliens in the United States. Data from this system have been used in estimating the number of illegal immigrants in the United States in 1980. Consequently, some researchers have urged that INS reestablish the system. (See International Population Center, 1987, p. 45, app. II.)

The Bureau of the Census collects data on the immigrant population. While the decennial census includes data on immigrants in the United States, it does not distinguish them according to their legal status. Thus, researchers cannot determine the number and characteristics of undocumented immigrants from the census data alone.

The Bureau also conducts the monthly Current Population Survey (CPS), a sample survey of about 45,000 households. The surveys for November 1979, April 1983, and June 1986 contained supplemental questions about immigration issues, and researchers have used this data in their migration studies.

Another data source, which has been used in estimating the number of undocumented Mexicans in the United States is a 1978-1979 Mexican government-sponsored survey of 62,500 Mexican households.

Two statisticians from the INS and the Bureau, respectively, conducted a study on the size of the undocumented alien population in the United States, which has been widely cited (see Warren and Passel, 1987, p. 48, app. II). The researchers compared estimates of the total number of aliens included in the 1980 census with estimates of the number of aliens residing legally in the United States in 1980, primarily from INS data. The researchers assumed that the difference between the two measures is the number of undocumented aliens counted in the 1980 census. This study estimates that approximately 2 million undocumented aliens were included in the 1980 U.S. Census, including 1.1 million Mexicans. Although the study did not attempt to estimate precisely how many undocumented aliens were not included in the census, the authors concluded from their results and the results of other studies that the undocumented Mexican population in the United States in 1980 was in the 1-2 million range, with the total number of undocumented aliens from all countries in the range of 2-4 million.

In 1985, the National Research Council commissioned a review of a number of these efforts. The reviewers concluded that, "though no range can be soundly defended, a population of 1.5 to 3.5 million illegal aliens in 1980 appears reasonably consistent with most of the studies." (See Levine et. al., 1985, p. 45, of app. II.)

Many studies report that the size of the population of all undocumented immigrants in the United States has increased since 1980. Another study by Bureau and INS researchers attempts to assess the magnitude of that increase. (See Woodrow, Passel, and Warren, 1987, p. 49, app. II.) Their study reports that the undocumented U.S. immigrant population annually grew by about 176,000 between the 1980 census and June 1986, with 170,000 being Mexican-born workers.

IRCA's Possible Impact on Mexico's Economic Conditions

IRCA's two primary potential effects on Mexico's economic conditions are on the labor market and remittances—payments which immigrants working in the United States send home to Mexico. In terms of the labor market, IRCA could impact levels of employment and underemployment in Mexico, the skill and composition of the work force, wages, and the incentives for foreign-owned companies to operate in Mexico. As for remittances, a possible decrease in their volume under IRCA could affect general economic measures such as the balance of payments and economic growth. The impacts of such a decrease might, however, fall primarily on certain local economies and individual households.

Mexico's Economic Conditions

Mexico is struggling to emerge from a period of economic crisis, which officially began in August 1982, when the country suspended foreign debt repayments and appealed to the international financial community for help. An ambitious development program begun in 1980 and the subsequent recession and decline in world petroleum prices had left the country essentially bankrupt, with a 1982 budget deficit equal to about 17 percent of GNP.

In response to these conditions, the U.S. government helped put together an assistance package of advance payments, loans, and loan guarantees. Mexico arranged for a loan from the International Monetary Fund, and rescheduled official and private foreign debt. The borrowing that occurred before and during the crisis period has left Mexico with an external debt of over $100 billion, which is more than 70 percent of GNP and continues to be a significant burden on its resources.

Real wages have been adversely affected by high rates of inflation, which was expected to be near 135 percent for 1987 and exceed 100 percent for 1988. Employment generation remains a pressing problem. Analysts have estimated that between 1981 and 1986, the Mexican labor force grew by more than 4 million, while economic growth was near zero.

Because of these economic problems and the social pressures they create, IRCA's impact on Mexico's economic measures, such as the balance of payments or unemployment, are of special interest to policy analysts and researchers. (For sources of information on general economic conditions in Mexico, see pp. 50 through 51, app. II.)

IRCA's Possible Effect on Mexico's Labor Market

A significant body of literature exists concerning labor market effects of immigration. It is generally focused on the impact on the U.S. labor market, not that of the sending country. Several studies, however, do directly consider the impact on the Mexican sending communities and the domestic labor market. (See app. II, pp. 52 through 55 for a detailed summary.) In the sections below, we discuss some of the research regarding IRCA's possible impact on Mexico's labor market.

Effects on Unemployment and Underemployment

IRCA's effects on Mexico's unemployment and underemployment rates may be difficult to measure accurately. Techniques to measure unemployment and underemployment rates have long generated debate, especially since the 1980 Mexican census counted for the first time, a

considerable number of women and young men working fewer than 15 hours a week as part of the labor force.

There is no single criterion for the definition of underemployment. Two common components are that portion of the labor force working on a part-time basis and those workers earning income below a specified level. Both are criticized for including those who are in that category voluntarily. Given these qualifications, estimates of unemployment in Mexico range from 13 to 18 percent, with one source estimating combined unemployment and underemployment to exceed 40 percent of the labor force.

The potential impact of the IRCA on overall employment and underemployment in Mexico is logically a function of the extent of reduced labor migration to the United States, voluntary returns, and deportation of undocumented Mexican workers from the United States, and the relationship of those magnitudes to the size of the Mexican labor force.

It should be noted that since migration to the United States is concentrated in certain regions of Mexico, the additional unemployment which might follow implementation of IRCA would likely be distributed unevenly across the country.

A simple calculation is instructive in determining the potential maximum increase in unemployment in Mexico resulting from IRCA. The calculation does not consider regional differences in potential unemployment effects and it uses several extreme assumptions, including the mass return of workers to Mexico as a result of IRCA. It is based on 1980 estimates of the number of Mexicans illegally in the United States and the size of the Mexican labor force. Thus, if 2 million Mexicans reentered the Mexican labor force and were counted among the unemployed, Mexico's unemployment rate would rise by about 10 percentage points, from an estimated 13 or 18 percent to 23 or 28 percent. The actual effect would probably be much lower because the assumption that an estimated labor force of 2 million would return is unrealistic since some would not be of labor force age, and would qualify for legal status in the United States, or would remain in the United States illegally.

Effects on the Composition of the Mexican Labor Force

Any determination of IRCA's effect on the occupational and skill mix of the Mexican labor force would depend on job-related characteristics of the undocumented Mexican immigrant population in the United States. From studies we reviewed, evidence shows that less educated Mexicans are more likely to migrate illegally to the United States than better educated ones, and that the illegal immigrants are likely to work in the United States in low skilled jobs. One study, based on 1975 survey data collected across the United States, showed 85 percent of the illegal Mexican workers were employed in unskilled or low-skilled jobs, 14 percent were employed as craft workers, and 1 percent were employed in white collar jobs. (See North and Houstoun, 1976, p. 60, app. II.) A later study, based on 1982 survey data collected in four Mexican communities, also looked at the occupational distribution of the migrants who worked in the United States. Migrants from the rural communities dominated the flow to the United States and were primarily farm workers. The largest occupational groups among migrants from the two urban areas were skilled manual workers and clerical-sales workers. (See Massey et. al., 1987, p. 34, app. II.)

Some illegal immigrants are able to achieve a degree of upward job mobility over time. As their experience in the United States increases, they move into better paying manufacturing jobs and in some cases acquire valuable job skills. Due to the temporary and seasonal nature of most Mexican migration to the United States, it is likely that the numbers of such immigrants is small.

Impact on Wages in Mexico

Economic theory states that when the supply of labor to a particular market increases, other things being equal, the real wage will fall. Thus, if the implementation of IRCA results in significant numbers of illegal migrants reentering the Mexican labor force, further reduction in Mexico's already declining real wages might result.

A researcher has studied the potential effect on wages in Mexico of illegal migration to the United States. The study assumed that these migrants do not compete with all sectors of the labor market because they lack the necessary skills for various occupations. Therefore, decreased migration to the United States would not affect wages in some sectors. Assuming certain conditions concerning supply and demand in the Mexican labor market, the study showed that adding 500,000 former U.S. migrants to the Mexican labor market would decrease real wages 2.3 to 7.1 percent in the affected sectors. (See Gregory, 1986, p. 54, app. II.)

Assuming, as the previous study did, that wages are not affected equally across all sectors of the labor market, a decrease in real wages could impact the distribution of income in Mexico. The significance of this impact depends on the availability of other income, such as remittances and other non-wage income.

IRCA's Effects on Incentives for Foreign-Owned Companies to Operate in Mexico

Foreign-owned firms, especially from the United States, have already established a number of plants in Mexico. The Mexican government's Maquiladora program, which allows firms to import goods into Mexico duty-free, and assemble and re-export them has encouraged exports from and foreign investments in Mexico. It is unclear whether this program would help mitigate IRCA's potential negative effects on Mexico's labor market.

The Maquiladora program, which had only 12 operating plants and about 3,000 workers at the end of 1965, has become an important sector of the Mexican economy, with an estimated 250,000 workers employed in 1986. That number represents an 18-percent increase over the previous year, during a time of negative economic growth for the Mexican economy in general. (See GAO, 1987, p. 51, app. II.)

While the program has proved to be an impetus to economic growth and a source of income for many households in northern Mexico, evidence shows that the number of unskilled migrants attracted to the region may have exceeded the number of jobs the industry has created. Additionally, some sources indicate that the Maquiladora program has not provided employment for former Mexico-to-U.S. migrants, but instead has provided employment for women who have been better educated and better skilled than the migrants. Thus, further study is needed to determine the extent these border industries can reduce potential negative effects of the IRCA on the Mexican labor market. Such study would involve gathering the information necessary to project the growth of these plants in the near term, including the numbers and mix of skill levels expected to be required from the Mexican labor force.

IRCA and Remittances

Levels of Remittances

IRCA could cause a reduction in the level of private individual remittances to Mexico from the United States if fewer Mexicans are employed in this country.

Researchers sometimes use the term "remittances" broadly to include both payments sent by workers still in the United States and money carried home by returning migrants. It is often used more specifically to refer to only payments sent by workers still in the United States with money carried home by returning migrants treated as a separate category. To analyze the impact of IRCA on economic conditions in Mexico, policy analysts would be interested in changes in the levels of all income sent or carried to Mexico by Mexicans working in the United States, therefore we use the term "remittances" broadly to include both categories of payments. In the following discussion of findings of individual researchers regarding income to Mexico from U.S. migrants, we distinguish the types of payments when the researchers themselves make that distinction.

Estimates of the level of remittances sent to Mexico by Mexicans working in the United States vary widely. Official measures, such as those reported by the Bank of Mexico and those used by the U.S. Department of Commerce in its published balance of payments statistics, include only a part of the total private individual remittances. Researchers at each of those organizations state that their current estimates are inadequate because they are based on incomplete information.

For example, estimates from the Bank of Mexico have included only payments sent through postal money orders or wire services. They have not included non-postal money orders, personal checks, or cash. In deriving its estimates of private remittances from individuals, Commerce has relied on information from a small sample of U.S. banks.

Both the Bank of Mexico and Commerce are developing new methods for estimating private individual remittances to Mexico. The Bank of Mexico's new method is based on analysis of the dollar receipts of all Mexican commercial banks except those in the northern border region. The Bank expects to release, in February 1988, estimates of remittances for 1986 and 1987 calculated using this method.

An economist at the Bank informed us that preliminary estimates of 1987 private individual remittances to Mexico from Mexicans in the United States, regardless of their legal immigration status, total about $1 billion. He indicated that since this new estimate will not include cash remittances or dollar receipts of banks in the northern border area, it will be an underestimation but a more reasonable estimate than the Bank's previous releases.

The approach being developed by Commerce will be based on information gathered from the survey of a sample of aliens applying for legal status under IRCA. This survey, to be administered by the INS, will contain questions on workers' incomes and remittances to Mexico. Researchers at Commerce hope to have some preliminary results by May 1988.

Some individual researchers have gathered information on remittances to Mexico through the survey of Mexicans who have worked in the United States or households in Mexico containing such workers. Comparing the results of such studies is difficult because (1) the studies have been conducted in different years with different economic conditions and levels of purchasing power of the U.S. dollar and (2) the period of time for which average remittance values are reported varies. For example, some studies report average amounts remitted monthly or weekly, others report average amounts remitted annually, and the studies differ in their reports of average length of stay in the United States.

Results of studies we reviewed include average annual remittances of $355 (1982 nominal dollars), with workers spending an average 11.5 months per year in the United States (see Adelman, Taylor, Vogel, 1987, p. 51, app. II), and $585 (1978 nominal dollars), with workers spending an average 4.9 months per year in the United States. (See Ranney and Kossoudji, 1983, p. 37, app. II). (The latter study also reports that the average U.S. migrant surveyed brought $627 back to Mexico during the year, yielding a total of $1,212 returned to Mexico in 1978 per U.S. migrant.) Other survey study estimates include an average income from U.S. migrants of $146 per month (1982 nominal dollars) for each household surveyed containing at least one U.S. migrant (see Massey et. al., 1987, p. 34, app. II) and $129 per month (1975 nominal dollars) remitted to Mexico per undocumented Mexican working in the United States. (See North and Houstoun, 1976, p. 60, app. II.)

The Importance of Remittances to Mexico's Overall and Local Economies

The amount of remittances is important to Mexico's overall economy because remittances impact on the country's balance of payments to foreign countries and are a source of foreign exchange. For example, if 1987 remittances were $1 billion per year, they would have equaled about 4 percent of the total value of foreign currency obtained from the export of goods and services ($24.5 billion).

The most significant impact of the level of remittance income on Mexico may be on certain local economies and individual households. This was demonstrated in a 1983 survey of households in an area of rural Mexico with substantial migration to the United States. In that study, researchers found that remittances from Mexicans working in the United States comprised 17.5 percent of total income of the average village household. (See Taylor, 1987, p. 62; and Stark, Taylor, and Yitzhaki, 1986, p. 62, app. II.) Including only those households with members working in the United states, researchers found the percentage of household income provided by those migrants to average 34.5 percent. (See Taylor, 1987, p. 62, app. II.)

How Mexicans in the villages use remittances is central in determining the extent villages depend upon migrants to maintain living standards and the extent remittances provide resources for self-sustaining economic growth. Although remittances do provide, in some cases, funds for investment, most researchers have confirmed that the overwhelming majority of remittance income is spent on housing and consumption goods, most of which are produced outside the village.

Finally, in a study of a random sample of rural households in central Mexico, researchers used a mathematical model of a typical village economy to simulate the impact of various changes in the village's economic conditions. One such experiment involved simulating the effects of cutting in half the remittances from Mexico-U.S. migrants. The results showed village income would fall 18.3 percent and the income of the landless would fall 20 percent, substantially increasing poverty in the village. (See Adelman, et. al., p. 51, app. II.)

IRCA's Effect on Mexico's Social and Political Structures Unknown

Until the extent of implementation and degree of effectiveness of the IRCA become known, it is not clear what the effects will be on the Mexican social and political structures. Speculation among policy analysts is that the enforcement provisions of the law will prove to have a negative and heavier impact on the social and political structures than the legalization provisions. It is expected that effective enforcement of the IRCA

would cause those undocumented Mexican workers who do not qualify for amnesty to return to Mexico.

For the most part, Mexicans returning to their country in the past have been of retirement age (64 years or more). Little is known about Mexicans of labor force age (who were active participants in the United States labor market and would be active in the Mexican labor market) returning to Mexico and reintegrating into their native society. Studies about the reintegration of returnees in their native country and the impact of the returning migrants on the social structure of their country have been conducted in Columbia and Argentina. Although these studies reported some difficulties in the reintegration of the returnees into their respective domestic labor markets, we cannot assume that similar outcomes would occur for returning Mexican migrants.

We are not aware of any studies conducted on the change in political structure of Mexico or any other Latin American country due to return migration. However, one American policy analyst, after synthesizing information and examining U.S.-Mexican foreign policy implications of IRCA on the immigration issue, proposed that the two countries establish a bilateral body for information exchange on the implementation of the IRCA. (See Meissner, p. 35, app. II.)

Additionally, a Mexican analyst called for the two nations to establish a binational body or commission(s) which would provide not only for information exchange, but also research and negotiation. This approach, according to the analyst, should not be limited to the migration issue and should include the issue of Mexico's external debt. (See Bustamante, 1987, pp. 29 and 42, app. II.)

Coordination of Research on IRCA's Impact on Mexico

Researchers evaluating IRCA's impact on Mexico need reliable and accurate statistics on the net flow of undocumented and documented migrants, as well as access to the appropriate data on the characteristics of these migrants. Obtaining accurate and substantive information from such evaluation requires coordinated research approaches and findings.

U.S. researchers note that INS data on the arrests of illegal migrants and the inflow of legal immigrants and the census data on the number of illegal migrants in the U.S. population, are accessible to the research community. However, they note that no large-scale data sets or elements are available with sufficient detail on the demographic and socioeconomic characteristics of migrants to distinguish between undocumented

migrants, new permanent immigrants, and existing permanent immigrants—e.g., their place of origin, the place of residence of their relatives, occupations and industries where they work in the U.S. labor market, and total income received during their residence in the United States.

INS, as resources allow, will provide aggregate statistics for a number of demographic characteristics of persons applying for legal resident status under IRCA. Confidentiality requirements contained in IRCA will not allow researchers access to detailed records of individual applicants. Lack of access to the applicants' records could be a constraint in some types of analyses. For example, it would not be possible to link the aggregated demographic data on applicants with other sets of data (such as state employment information), and it would not be possible to select samples of such applicants in order to collect more detailed socioeconomic information.

The United States and Mexico have begun to coordinate population research activities. In 1986, the U.S. Department of Commerce/Bureau of the Census and its Mexican counterpart, the Secretariat of Programming and Budget, signed a cooperative agreement to exchange methodologies, documents, information, and training intending to develop and execute joint statistical projects.

Some researchers suggested that other research activities in conjunction with the two nations' population research activities could be coordinated by a central body. The coordination, for example, could include the data collection and research analysis activities of the INS' Statistical Analysis Branch and Border Patrol and its Mexican counterpart(s). The Bilateral Commission on the Future of U.S.-Mexican Relations (a private non-profit organization primarily funded by the Ford Foundation and directed toward studying long-term trends in U.S.-Mexican relations) could be a source for identifying applicable regional studies and independent researchers for case studies.

The National Institutes of Health (NIH) and the National Science Foundation have extensive experience in coordinating and funding research activities related to basic research in areas of national interest. The Center for Population Research of NIH's National Institute of Child Health and Human Development is currently sponsoring data collection efforts in rural Mexico, focusing on questions of both internal and Mexico-U.S. migration. Such work could also be considered as part of a centrally coordinated research effort.

Additionally, a central body could be involved in coordinating the research activities of various American, Japanese, and other nations' businesses or research organizations that would have some vested interest in the economy of Mexico and the impact of the IRCA on Mexico. A study group at the United Nations has been involved in defining migrants and the extent of migration. The result of the group's efforts may have implications for evaluating migration worldwide.

Annotated Bibliography

Note: We compiled this bibliography from computerized literature searches and from referrals by government, academic, and private sector researchers we contacted directly. Citations to studies we obtained from literature searches, which appear to be relevant to the topics discussed but we did not independently review, are preceded with an *.

History and Characteristics of Mexican Migration to the United States

*__Alarcon Acosta, Rafael Guadalupe__. Research on international migration and social reproduction in the Zamoran Bajio, 1984. Cited on page 233 of the the International Guide to Research on Mexico. Center for U.S.-Mexican Studies. University of California, San Diego, California and El Colegio de la Frontera Norte, Tijuana, Baja California, 1986.

This analysis applies a regional perspective to Mexican migration to the United States and is an example of a study of circumstances prior to the passage of IRCA. The research examines three communities in the Zamoran Bajio in an effort to discern the relationship between migratory processes and social reproduction in working class families involved in migration. The methodology consisted of field work (participant observation, case studies, etc.) and a survey of a representative sample of individuals residing in the three communities.

__Alba, Francisco__. "Migrant Workers, Employment Opportunities and Remittances: The Pattern of Labor Interchange Between Mexico and the United States." Working Paper. Center for Immigration Policy and Refugee Assistance, Georgetown University, Washington, D.C.: June 1985.

This paper includes: (1) a discussion of the history of labor migration from Mexico to the United States, (2) a summary of findings of some studies regarding education and job skill characteristics of the migrants, (3) a discussion of the amount and use of money migrant workers remit to Mexico, with implications for the overall Mexican economy and for individual households, and (4) some conclusions about possible government policy objectives regarding Mexico-to-U.S. migration.

Of particular interest are Alba's discussion of evidence on the "brain drain" hypothesis. He concludes that the migrants have more education than the average of the Mexican laborer and often some job training but do not contribute to a brain drain from Mexico. He concluded, in general, that it is advisable neither to develop an explicit policy of labor export nor to oppose the current flow of labor from Mexico without better job

opportunities for the workers at home. Alba encourages the consideration of programs to expand the export of goods and services from Mexico and long-term accords between Mexico and the United States.

*__Arguelles, Lourdes and Romero, Gloria__. Research on the communication networks of undocumented Mexican women in Los Angeles, 1985. Cited on page 235 of the International Guide to Research on Mexico. Center for U.S.-Mexican Studies. University of California, San Diego, California and El Colegio de la Frontera Norte Tijuana, Baja California, 1986.

The goal of this research was to assess the role of the informal communication networks that undocumented Mexican women in the United States use to meet their needs. Research questions centered on issues of nationality, sex, class consciousness, and the changes the women experienced to assimilate into the Los Angeles labor force. Data sources include both surveys and personal interviews with members of the communication networks.

__Arizpe, Lourdes__. "The Rural Exodus in Mexico and Mexican Migration to the United States." From The Border That Joins. Peter G. Brown and Henry Shue, ed., Rowman and Littlefield, Totowa, New Jersey, 1983.

The researcher argues that migration out of the rural areas of Mexico and the labor conditions which stimulated immigration must be analyzed as two distinct movements. The data presented shows that most migrants from Mexican rural villages settle within Mexico, and that only specific types of migrants are attracted over the border. The distinction between the rural migration within Mexico and Mexican migration to the United States can be important in formulating policy for both nations. The researcher examines the diversity of conditions that create potential out-migration in Mexican rural villages in order to understand the characteristics of migrants attracted to the United States.

Several community studies in Mexico have shown that many of the poorest, landless people generally tend to stay on in rural areas or to migrate to other rural destinations within Mexico.

Undocumented migration to the United States tends to involve more landholders than landless people. Few migrants from middle- and upper-income groups leave Mexico to seek social and economic mobility, and most already have favorable kinship or social contacts in the cities.

Some landless people who migrate also have established networks and communities in the United States.

The researcher refers to a longitudinal analysis of Mexican migration to the United States which concludes that "it is fluctuations in wage differentials, created largely by changes in Mexican wages, that shape migration to the United States." The intensity with which rural out-migration has occurred in Mexico for the last three decades has resulted from the simultaneous effects of, on the one hand, the demand for labor in the expanding industrial and commercial centers in Mexico and in U.S. agriculture and low-grade urban employment; and on the other hand, the gradual undermining of the Mexican rural economy based on small land holding rain-fed agriculture.

The analysis further concludes that not all of the groups of migrants going to the United States are unemployed, which means that the pull factors override the push factors in encouraging part of the Mexican migration to the United States.

Briggs, Jr., Vernon M. "The 'Albatross' of Immigration Reform: Temporary Worker Policy in the United States," International Migration Review. 20: (Winter 1986).

This article reviews the U.S. evolution of a temporary worker policy as a means to meet shortages for labor and indicates how efforts to admit more temporary workers complicated the immigration reform process. It summarizes U.S. temporary worker programs and policies established since the Civil War era, through immigration reform in the 1980s.

Briggs, Jr., Vernon M. "The Mexico-United States Border: Public Policy and Chicano Economic Welfare," Studies in Human Resource Development, No. 2. The University of Texas at Austin, Texas, 1974.

This volume reviews the history of immigration from Mexico to the United States and the corresponding U.S. immigration laws or policies through May 1974. It also identifies issues concerning provisions of proposed legislation in the early 1970s directed at controlling illegal entrants. The author also discusses the development of the "twin plants" or Maquiladora program, which required a number of modifications of Mexico's laws. His observations include: (1) immigration and border policies explain the depressed economic status of the region and

the inability of most remedial programs to rectify the situation; (2) illegal entry into the U.S. must be stopped by expanded enforcement, prosecution of offenders, and a sweep of the U.S. labor markets to return illegal immigrants to Mexico; (3) criminal penalties should be adopted for U.S. employers who hire illegal immigrants; (4) the commuter system should be terminated; and (5) the tariff provisions which encourage the twin plants arrangement should be repealed.

Bustamante, Jorge A. "Mexican Immigration to the United States: A Bilateral Perspective." Paper prepared for the Pan American Economic Leadership Conference, Indianapolis, Indiana, June 14, 15, and 16, 1987.

This paper analyzes the political and judicial nature of U.S. immigration laws since 1952 and the socioeconomic nature of undocumented immigration from Mexico to the United States. The author asserts that undocumented migration is a bilateral phenomenon shaped by an interaction of factors emanating from both sides of the border, but notes that the interaction between the United States and Mexico on undocumented migration is asymmetrical and he criticizes the United States' unilateral legislative approach to the solution of problems pertaining to this issue. He calls for a bilateral approach to both undocumented migration and external debt, whereby the United States would channel a portion of the interest paid on Mexico's external debt into a fund to develop labor-intensive, agro-industrial productive jobs designed to attract former and potential migratory workers.

He asserts that the Mexican government's view of out-migration of workers has changed, saying:

"In the past the prevalent belief was the outflow of migrant workers to the United States constituted an 'escape valve' and represented a relief of pressure arising from unemployment in Mexico." He now supports the notion that a "labor force drain" has replaced that of the escape valve.

This indicates that there has been a growing diversification of characteristics of U.S. labor demands, shifting from farm work to services and industry and that migrant workers are coming increasingly from higher levels of education than in the past.

***Bustamante, Jorge A.** "The Politics of Immigration." Texas Observer, 77:1 (August 16, 1985), 7-11.

In an interview with Louis Dubose, Dr. Jorge Bustamante, a Mexican demographer and director of the Center for Border Studies of Northern Mexico stated that:

"The fact that the United States insists on a unilateral approach to this, to us, is an act of power. To us, it is a reflection of the asymmetry of the bargaining capabilities of the two countries."

He perceives Mexicans as participants in an international labor market and criticizes U.S. immigration reform proposals.

***Bustamante, Jorge A. and Chande, Roberto Ham.** Research on aging in the U.S. and undocumented migration. Cited on page 239 of International Guide to Research on Mexico. Center for U.S.-Mexican Studies. University of California, San Diego, California, and El Colegio de la Frontera Norte Tijuana, Baja California, 1986.

This study is intended to identify the relation between the aging of the U.S. population and its need for migrant labor. The researcher believes that both differences in the age structures and the relationship between the U.S. and Mexican economies assure a continuing demand for services on the part of the older, more affluent population.

Calavita, Kitty. "The Immigration Policy Debate: A Critical Analysis and Options for the Future." Paper prepared for and cited with the permission of, the Bilateral Commission of the Future of the United States-Mexico Relations, La Jolla, California, August 1987.

This paper reviews the history of Mexican migration to the United States and U.S. immigration policies and laws since 1791. It also assesses the merits of a variety of immigration policy proposals ranging from militarization of the United States border to the maintenance of the status quo. The paper refutes the views that immigration— particularly undocumented immigration—(1) has exclusively benefited the immigrants, (2) is out of control (due to the economic forces which propel immigrants from poor countries and attract them to opportunities in the industrialized world), and (3) that the U.S. immigration policy has been altruistic (which has become a major basis of agreement among immigration policy makers and for immigration reform discussions in the 1980s). It concludes that a humane U.S. immigration policy requires that the importance of immigrant labor be officially recognized and those whose labor the U.S. wishes to import must be recognized as members of

the U.S. society. It also suggests that the U.S. substantially increase legal immigration quotas, particularly for Mexico.

Chiswick, Barry R. "Mexican Immigrants: The Economic Dimension." The Annals of the American Academy 487: (September 1986), 92-101.

In this article, the author examines economic incentives for Mexicans to migrate to the United States. He reports on a number of characteristics of the Mexican immigrants, based on 1980 U.S. census data, but from this data he cannot distinguish between documented and undocumented immigrants. He compares the Mexican immigrants to those of other nations and reports the Mexican to be younger, with fewer years of U.S. labor experience and fewer years of earnings.

Cornelius, Wayne A. "Presentation to the Seventh Annual Briefing Session for Professional Journalists." Director, Center for U.S.-Mexican Studies, University of California, San Diego, California, July 1987.

This paper summarizes the preliminary findings of a survey of employers and workers in 17 non-agricultural, immigrant-dependent firms located in southern California. The firms were randomly selected from a list of firms in each of California's three largest metropolitan areas that the INS had raided or targeted for various kinds of enforcement actions during the preceding 10 years. The basic objectives of the study were to (1) explain how the firms and the industries, of which they are a part, become heavily dependent on immigrant labor and (2) anticipate how IRCA might affect these industries and firms.

The paper asserts that the passage of the bill, and the highly exaggerated reports of its probable consequences that circulated in Mexico for several months thereafter, had the effect of sharply reducing the number of Mexican workers illegally entering United States during the last quarter of 1986 and the first half of 1987. During this period, (1) significant numbers of prospective first-time migrants postponed their journey to the United States; (2) seasonal or shuttle migrants who had returned to their homes in Mexico by the end of 1986 delayed going back to the United States; and (3) a trickle of Mexican workers with extended work histories in the United States voluntarily returned to Mexico, apparently fearing the loss of their material possessions if they were caught and deported as a result of IRCA.

Half of the employees interviewed foresaw a reduced labor supply because of IRCA. Twenty-nine percent of the employers said that they

would consider raising wages to attract workers in a tighter labor market. Others said that even if the labor supply decreased, they were confident of having enough workers to meet their needs, even at existing wage levels. However, most immigrant-dominated firms reported they hope to retain a large portion of their current undocumented immigrant work force.

Hansen, Niles. "Undocumented Mexican Immigration: What Are the Issues? What Are the Alternatives?" The Border Economy-Regional Development in the Southwest. University of Texas Press. Austin, Texas, 1981.

This chapter examines regional development issues on both sides of the border noting the respective national contexts of Mexico and the United States. The author concludes:

"Large-scale Mexican immigration to the United States can be attributed to the inability of the Mexican economy to provide jobs for a large proportion of its rapidly expanding labor force and to the desire of relatively poor Mexicans to better their standard of living by seeking employment opportunities north of the border."

The author noted that Mexico's poverty and revolutionary upheaval provided push forces, but the actual employment of undocumented Mexicans has been to a large degree determined by cyclically changing demand-pull circumstances in the United States.

He further concludes that Mexico has reaped certain advantages from out-migration. Evidence was found that migrants from certain areas of Mexico were almost exclusively from among the class of peasants that did not have access to official rural credit institutions. Their broad exposure to industrial processes and organization contributed to the success of industrial development. Some undocumented Mexican nationals, who had been industrial workers in the United States, returned as new entrepreneurs having a sophisticated approach to production layout, methods of wage payment, and worker motivation and control. Also, a major function of the migration process seemed to provide a source for scarce capital rather than the acquisition of specific skills, for example a returning migrant's remittances and savings were invested in a single piece of machinery which helped a local textile industry to compete successfully on a national scale with large mechanized factories in Mexico City and Monterey. Finally, as a result of the out-migration system, Mexico could export some of its unemployment.

International Guide To Research On Mexico, Center for U.S.-Mexican Studies, University of California, San Diego, California, and El Colegio de la Frontera Norte, Tijuana, Baja, California, 1986.

This publication focuses on unpublished research from 835 research projects ongoing worldwide during 1985 or projected for 1986. The data came from approximately 600 questionnaires sent in 1985 to individual researchers and research institutions, as well as visits and telephone inquiries. More than two-thirds of the contributors to this volume are researchers based at Mexican institutions.

***Jones, Richard C.** "Channelization of Undocumented Mexican Migrants to the U.S." Economic Geography, 58: (April 1982) 156-176.

This article discusses geographic distributions of migrants in Mexico and in the United States, noting that California, Texas, and Illinois account for almost nine-tenths of the total entering the U.S. Further, undocumented migration tends to flow between specific Mexican and U.S. subregions, that are tied to historical and economic forces which cannot be simply "turned off" by restrictive border policies.

Malina, Robert M. "Push Factors in Mexican Migration to the United States: The Background to Migration, a Summary of Three Studies With Policy Implications," Mexico-U.S. Migration Research Reports, Department of Anthropology and the Institute of Latin American Studies, University of Texas at Austin. July 1980.

This report is a summary and synthesis of three studies on Mexican migration to the United States. One project examined the agrarian structure and circular migrations from rural Mexico to the United States. A second project examined the role of the Mexican urban household in making decisions about migration to the United States. The third reviews the socioeconomic incentives for migration to the United States. Some of the major findings of these projects are that: (1) the poorest regions of Mexico do not contribute most heavily to the migration stream; (2) migration is part of a worker's diversified strategy of seeking employment to maintain family in Mexico; (3) households which send migrants to the United States and disproportionately to other parts of Mexico, have a better life-style and more education by Mexican standards compared to non-sender households.

The project examining the socioeconomic incentives of migration focused on wage differentials for low-skilled laborers within different

areas of Mexico and the southwestern part of the United States. This study concluded that the wage differentials for low-skilled workers decreased the incentive for permanent migration to the United States. However, the devaluation of the Mexican peso has encouraged temporary migration to the United States. The report concludes by suggesting the two countries create a guest worker program to legalize the migratory flow.

Massey, Douglas; Alarcon, Rafael; Durand, Jorge; and Gonzalez, Humberto. Return to Aztlan. University of California Press. Berkeley, California, 1987.

This book examines the process of migration to the United States from four communities in Western Mexico, two rural and two urban. The research, conducted during 1982 and 1983, used survey questionnaires that elicited basic social and demographic data from all individuals in the households sampled, and compiled life histories for household heads, or older sons, with experience in migrating to the United States. An additional 60 interviews were conducted with members of households in California, in order to represent migrants who had settled more permanently in the United States. The book contains: a profile of the four communities (ch. 3); a detailed review of the historical development of migration between Mexico and the United States (ch. 4); a description of current migration patterns and social migration networks based on quantitative data gathered in the four communities (ch. 5 and 6); and analysis of the impact of migration on the household economy and of the socioeconomic impact of migration in Mexico (ch. 7 and 8).

The authors conclude that extensive migration from Mexico to the United States grew largely out of changes in the economic organization of Mexican society which created a mass of poor, landless workers coupled with U.S. demand for workers. They also conclude, however, that it has developed over time to involve a larger cross section of the Mexican population.

They conclude that migration to the United States can make a critical difference to the household budget, especially in rural areas.

Note: Douglas Massey submitted in 1987 a research proposal to the Center for Population Research, National Institute of Child and Human Development of the National Institute of Health. The proposed research, which has been funded, is to provide reliable quantitative data on Mexican migration to the United States. The 32 Mexican communities to be

studied in the proposed project will include the 4 communities studied in 1982-1983 (Return to Aztlan). Therefore, pre- and post-IRCA comparisons can be made directly with the data from those 4 communities.]

McCarthy, Kevin F. and Valdez, R. Burciaga. "Current and Future Effects of Mexican Immigration in California." Rand Corporation, November 1985.

This study assessed the situation of Mexican immigrants in California and projected future immigration flows. The authors developed a demographic profile of the immigrants, and used it to examine the economic effects of Mexican immigration on the state, and to analyze the immigrants' socioeconomic integration into California society. The study concluded that Mexican immigrants are not homogeneous in their characteristics (for example, they differ in their marital status, household structure and living arrangements, education levels and employment skills and in their effects on California. The authors state that..."failure to recognize their diversity distorts assessments of the current immigration situation"...and further conclude that overall the immigrants provide economic benefits to the state by increasing total employment and contribute more to public revenues than they consume in public services.

Meissner, Doris M. "National Security Implications of Illegal Immigration." Paper presented at the National Defense University Symposium of Inter-American Security Policy, Washington D.C.: November 1986.

"Public awareness of the porousness of the border and perceived lack of U.S. control over the integrity of our borders has led some analysts to conclude that U.S. vulnerability to illegal immigration offers a dangerous invitation to other criminal elements, including terrorists and drug traffickers, to establish or further extend operations on U.S. territory. In addition, they argue that political or economic instability in neighboring countries could result in the unchecked flow of potentially millions of people into this country posing a due threat to domestic public order and national security."

This paper examines these concerns (law enforcement problems and stability in neighboring countries) as a basis for addressing questions concerning change in the traditional description of illegal immigration and whether illegal immigration is a legitimate national security consideration. The primary areas for examining illegal immigration as a national security issue and the stability of neighboring countries are Cuba, Central America, and Mexico. Although the author notes that the actual effects of the implementation of the 1986 immigration control legislation

on Mexico is not clear, she expects the enforcement provisions to constrict illegal flow of Mexicans to the United States over longer-term period and the legalization provisions to be quite generous to Mexicans. For those reasons, she states that migration takes on an urgent new importance in the United States-Mexico relationship.

The author proposes that the two countries establish a bilateral body for information exchange on the implementation of the legislation. This body should have a set membership of senior officials who have detailed knowledge of respective government programs and authority to make or recommend changes based on discussions by the body.

***Morris, Milton D. and Mayio, Albert.** "Curbing Illegal Immigration." Abridged by Alice M. Carroll. Washington, Brookings Institution, c1982.

This publication

"examines conditions that contribute to illegal immigration and steps that might be taken to reduce it.

...The paper differs from most other similar efforts in its emphasis on the likely effects of curtailment on the principal source countries and on U.S. foreign policy interests."

de la Pena, Guillermo. "Social Change and International Labor Migration: An Overview of Four Agrarian Regions in Mexico." Essay prepared for and cited with the permission of, the Bilateral Commission of the Future of the United States-Mexico Relations, La Jolla, California: August 1987.

This essay comments on international labor migration and its relationship with patterns of social change in four agrarian regions in Mexico—the lowlands of Zamorano in the state of Michoacan, the northeastern part of Jalisco, the southern part of Jalisco, and the northeastern part of Morelos. The essay reviews (1) the possible social consequences of international migration and the conditions under which they will vary and (2) the different social forces that generate such conditions, based on research studies which focused attention on the region as a whole and on case studies of the communities and the four states. The essay describes the pre-revolutionary system of production, the changes incurred in this century, and the consolidation of the contemporary

regional economy. Additionally the different types of migratory movements to the United States and within Mexico that impact on the region are identified.

Ranney, Susan and Kossoudji, Sherrie. "Profiles of Temporary Mexican Labor Migrants in the United States," Population and Development Review 9:3 (September 1983), 475-493.

The article presents analysis done on a subsample of a data set collected in Mexico in 1978-1979 under the sponsorship of the Mexican statistical institute CENIET. The subsample consisted of 1,068 individuals at least 15 years old with migration experience in the United States during the five years preceding December 1978.

The article presents three sets of comparisons: (1) profiles of commuting versus noncommuting migrants; (2) profiles of male versus female migrants; and (3) comparisons across sending regions in Mexico.

The authors report that (noncommuting) migrants are mostly male and average of 32 years old. About 95 percent of those in the sample did not have working papers, half paid for assistance in border crossing, and 29 percent were apprehended in 1978. The migrants' earnings averaged $23 per day of which $115 per month was remitted to Mexico during the stay and $627 on average was saved and taken back to Mexico during the year.

Reubens, Edwin P. "Immigration Problems, Limited-Visa Programs, and Other Options." The Border That Joins. In Peter G. Brown and Henry Shue, ed., Rowman and Littlefield, Totowa, New Jersey: 1983.

This essay summarizes the dimensions of legal and illegal immigration into the United States from all countries, particularly Mexico. It also reviews the forces that underlie and sustain the immigration of Mexicans into the United States and indicates the major costs and benefits of migration to the U.S. labor force and social system.

The essay notes that aliens are found working at virtually all levels of skill, but the great majority are at the lowest levels. Low-level jobs are found to persist in distinct industries—as fruit growing, food preparation, rubber manufacturing, sanitation, and domestic services—or in low-level occupations supporting higher-level functions such as sewing in garment manufacturing and cleaning in restaurants and hospitals.

This essay also outlines the range of alternative approaches for dealing with migration. Among these approaches are the direct restriction of aliens, the development of substitutes for aliens, enlargement of immigrant quotas, and a new temporary foreign workers program. The author argues that the new temporary foreign workers program (i.e., the limited visa foreign worker program) would be preferable to any other alternative.

***Ruiz, Jose Luis Castro.** Research on circular migration: its causes and effects, 1986. Cited on page 238 of the International Guide to Research on Mexico. Center for U.S.-Mexican Studies, University of California, San Diego, California, and El Colegio de la Frontera Norte, Tijuana, Baja California: 1986.

This project analyzed the factors which produce circular migration patterns between the United States and Mexico, and how these patterns impact growth in the receiving communities. The study suggests that the behavior patterns of circular migrants contrast with those of other migrant groups, generating differential impacts in the receiving communities. Two econometric models, multiple regression analysis, and a review of Mexico's 1960 and 1970 Census data were used for this study.

Sullivan, Teresa A.; Browning, Harley L.; McCracken, Stephen; and Singer, Audrey. "Self-Employment of Immigrants in Texas." Paper No. 9.008, Texas Population Research Center, University of Texas at Austin, 1987.

This paper examines the effects of self-employment on the earnings of immigrants in Texas. 1980 U.S. Census data are used in a statistical model similar to that used by Chiswick. The paper has several tables with summary information about Mexican immigrants in Texas, including demographic and employment characteristics. It does not distinguish between documented and undocumented immigrants.

The authors found that, other factors held constant, self-employed Mexican male immigrants in Texas earned substantially more than those who were not self-employed. Knowledge of English, each year of schooling and each year of U.S. labor market experience also were found to have positive, although smaller, effects.

The authors also found, in a comparison of Mexican and Asian immigrants in Texas, that the Mexicans earned less, even when controlling factors such as education and experience.

Taylor, Edward J. "U.S. Immigration Policy and the Mexican Economy." Unpublished manuscript, The Urban Institute, June 1987.

This paper discusses the history of Mexico-U.S. migration and summarizes the findings of a number of studies regarding the economic incentives behind illegal migration between rural Mexico and the United States, and the importance of that immigration to the rural Mexican economy.

The author reports results from a survey of a sample of households in the rural area of Michoacan. Those individuals with some experience in migrating to the United States, were found to have an average age of 27, with an average of about 4 years completed schooling, and about 4.5 years of experience in migrating to the United States. The households with Mexico-to-U.S. migrants were not the poorest households in the sample. The paper presents additional survey findings on factors such as family size. Taylor reports that remittances are an important source of income for these villagers and that they spend most of the remittance on consumption goods produced outside the village.

Tienda, Marta. "Looking to the 1990s: Mexican Immigration in Sociological Perspective." Essay prepared for and cited with the permission of, the Bilateral Commission of the Future of the United States-Mexican Relations," La Jolla, California: August 1987.

This essay reviews studies about the social consequences of Mexican immigration and identifies issues for bilateral negotiation and binational research. It highlights various aspects of the social content of migration decision making, as well as the integration processes that relate to the perpetuation of migration flows and the structured inequities between Mexican immigrants and other social groups. The paper provides a brief, historical overview of Mexican immigration emphasizing (1) the increased diversity of the migration flow and (2) the changed social context in which decisions are made to migrate and/or settle permanently in the United States.

The paper makes the point that research is necessary to effective immigration policy intervention and proposes a bilateral research agenda for the United States and Mexico.

U.S. General Accounting Office. "Illegal Aliens: Estimating Their Impact on the United States." PAD-80-22, 1980.

As its title indicates, this report primarily concerns the social and economic impact of illegal aliens on the United States. It considers the characteristics of the illegal alien population based on existing studies, and uses a computer model to project (from the 1976 base year through 1991) the cost of government services to the illegal alien population, tax revenues generated from employed illegal aliens, the amount of currency remitted to foreign countries, and job displacement.

GAO frequently cites North and Houstoun as a source for the demographic and employment characteristics of the illegal Mexican immigrant population in the United States noting one study estimate of an average annual value of remittances to Mexico of $1548. The GAO study adjusts that value downward, to reflect its assumption of less time per year spent in the United States by some workers.

***Valdez, R. Burciaga; McCarthy, Kevin F.; and Moreno, Connie Malcolm.** "A RAND Note." An annotated bibliography of sources on Mexican immigration. RAND Corporation, Santa Monica, California: RAND/N-2392-CR, 1987.

This note provides a detailed listing of the literature consulted in the course of a comprehensive assessment of Mexican immigration into California. The topics included are general studies, profiles of Mexican immigrants, labor market characteristics and effects, use and cost of public services by Mexican immigrants, economic and social mobility, and statistical sources on Mexican immigrants.

***Vizcarra, Guillermo Aramburo.** Research on maintaining and reproducing the Tijuana-U.S. migrant labor force, June 1986. Cited on page 234 of the International Guide to Research on Mexico. Center for U.S.-Mexican Studies, University of California, San Diego, California, and El Colegio de la Frontera Norte, Tijuana, Baja California, 1986.

This research study examined the conditions under which Tijuana residents who migrate daily or periodically to the United States as undocumented workers are used and maintained as a labor force and how they are linked to sectors of the U.S. economy. Research methodology comprised field work (including a survey of migrants) and bibliographic and documentary reviews at Mexican and U.S. colleges and universities.

Mexican Immigration Statistics: Stocks and Flows of Immigrants

Arriaga, Eduardo E. "Information Needed Relating to Demographic Aspects of the Border." Unpublished paper. Undated.

Mr. Arriaga is with the Center for International Research, U.S. Bureau of the Census. This paper discusses data which would be useful in characterizing the population living in the border states of the United States and Mexico. He notes in particular that the potential impact of IRCA is unknown, and discusses information which would be useful in considering that impact. For example, he notes that it would be useful to know the attitude of those aliens attaining legal status to their jobs.

Bean, Frank D.; Lowell, B. Lindsay; and Telles, Edward E. "Illegal Immigration to the U.S.: Myth and Reality." Paper presented at the annual meetings of the Population Association of America, Chicago: May 1987.

This study examines the myth and the reality of illegal immigration and argues that this discrepancy is reflected in the interplay between demographic research and public policy formulation. It analyzes recent research directed at estimating the size of the undocumented Mexican population and its impact of this population on the U.S. labor market.

Concerning labor market implications, the paper first examines empirically based research which seeks to assess the impact of immigration either on unemployment rates or on earnings and then reviews model based studies that assess the degree to which undocumented Mexicans are complements or substitutes in the labor market and which estimate the impact of immigrants on native workers' earning. The paper concludes that (1) the size of the undocumented population in the United States has increasingly proven to be smaller than speculated and (2) labor market impact studies have consistently found immigrants had small effects on the wages and earnings of other labor force groups.

Bean, Frank D.; Lowell, B. Lindsay; and Taylor, Lowell J. "Undocumented Mexican Immigrants and the Earning of Other Workers in the United States." Revised version of paper presented at the annual meetings of the Population Association of America. San Francisco, California: April 1986.

The authors use 1980 Census data to examine the effects of undocumented Mexican immigrants on the earnings of other workers in local labor markets in the southwestern United States. They estimated the number of undocumented Mexicans (included in the Census) in selected

markets, and then statistically determined the effects of those immigrants on the earnings of other labor force groups. They concluded that the undocumented Mexicans have a slight positive effect on the earnings of other labor force groups. This is consistent with the hypothesis that undocumented Mexican immigrants largely work in jobs that complement those of many other workers.

Bean, Frank D.; King, Allan G.; and Passel, Jeffrey S. "The Number of Illegal Migrants of Mexican Origin in the United States: Sex Ratio-Based Estimates for 1980," Demography. 20:1 (February 1983)

This article reports the results of applying a sex ratio-based method to estimate the number of undocumented Mexicans residing in the United States in 1980. The approach compared the hypothetical sex ratio in Mexico without emigration to the United States to the sex ratio that was reported in preliminary results from the 1980 Mexican Census. The researchers concluded that..."even the combinations of these values most likely to result in large estimates suggest that no more than 4 million illegal migrants of Mexican origin were residing in the United States in 1980."

Bjerke, John A. and Hess, Karen A. "Selected Characteristics of Illegal Aliens Apprehended by the U.S. Border Patrol." Unpublished paper, undated.

John Bjerke is a statistician with INS, and Karen Hess is a statistician with the U.S. Border Patrol. This paper discusses whether viable demographic information on apprehended aliens can be gathered from March and November 1986 pilot studies of how data is collected on Form I-213, Record of Deportable Alien Located. This form which records information such as age, sex, marital status, occupation, point of origin, etc. is collected by Border Patrol agents to support deportation proceedings. They recommended that INS support a sampling study of the I-213 information and noted the difficulties in conducting such a study.

Bustamante, Jorge A. "Undocumented Immigration Policy Options for Mexico." Paper prepared for and cited with the permission of, the Bilateral Commission of the Future of the United States-Mexican Relations, La Jolla, California: August 1987.

The paper examines some of the loopholes in the implementation of IRCA's "employee sanctions" provision and the incongruency in the United States' and Mexico's views concerning the immigration of

undocumented Mexicans. The author emphasizes the difference in the United States' unilateral approach to what Mexico recognizes as a bilateral issue, as well as the difference in the way the two nations examine quantitative data on undocumented workers. This paper sets out to discredit the use of INS apprehension statistics to analyze the flow of undocumented Mexicans to the United States and summarizes the methodology and results of the Zapata Canyon Project in which aerial photography is used as a tool to measure border flow. The author concludes that (1) there has been no acute pattern of decline in the flow of undocumented Mexican workers to the United States since passage of IRCA, and (2) the pattern has closely followed the seasonal patterns of undocumented workers immigrating to the United States over the past few years. This paper also proposes a bilateral approach to controlling undocumented immigration from Mexico.

Davilla, Alberto. "The Seasonality of Apprehensions of Undocumented Mexican Workers," International Migration Review. 20: (Winter 1986).

This article uses apprehensions data to test the economic determinants of Mexican undocumented immigration to the United States. The analysis is based on regressions relating both United States and Mexican economic variables to the number of apprehensions of illegal immigrants. The level of employment in agriculture, manufacturing and construction were used as proxies of the demand for undocumented Mexican labor in the United States. The author also used a variable (the ratio of employed individuals within the 20-34 age group to their population) measuring labor market conditions in Mexico in the empirical analysis. The regression estimates show that both United States and Mexican variables—i.e., supply and demand factors—affect apprehensions. As Mexican employment increases relative to population, apprehensions decline. Also, U.S. agricultural, rather than non-agricultural, employment appears to explain more of the within-year variation in apprehensions. However, the author concludes that the apprehensions data may be an inadequate indicator of actual illegal immigration because these numbers reflect repeat crossings and are also a function of the level of border-patrol enforcement.

Exter, Thomas G. "Demographics of Mexico." American Demographics, 4: (February 1982), 22-27.

This article presents population statistics from the Mexican census of 1980 and other surveys.

Herr, David M. and Passel, Jeffrey S. "Comparison of Two Different Methods for Computing the Number of Undocumented Mexican Adults in the Los Angeles PMSA." Paper presented at the annual meetings of the Population Association of America, 1985.

This paper compares two techniques for estimating the total number of undocumented Mexicans in the Los Angeles Primary Metropolitan Statistical Area. The first method uses a combination of data from the 1980 Census and interviews of parents of babies born in the Los Angeles area in 1980 or 1981 where one parent was reported on the birth certificate to be of Mexican origin. The second method is the same as the residual method reported by Warren and Passel (1987).

The authors report that the survey-based estimates of undocumented aliens are smaller than the residual method's estimates, but they suggest that some persons surveyed may have misrepresented their legal status. The authors report that the survey estimates provide more information and are not dependent on the INS Alien Registration System which was discontinued in 1981. The authors conclude that...

"perhaps the best information on the undocumented population in the 1990 Census will come from an improved version of the survey-based technique described here, applied in selected local areas."

Hill, Kenneth. "Indirect Approaches to Assessing Stocks and Flows of Migrants." In Immigration Statistics; A Story of Neglect. National Academy Press. Washington, D.C.: 1985.

This paper outlines three methods that could be applied to immigration data that are either available or could be made available at little expense. The methods are aimed at measuring numbers and flows of immigrants that are poorly documented by existing statistics.

Hill, Kenneth. "Illegal Aliens: An Assessment." In Immigration Statistics: A Story of Neglect. National Academy Press. Washington, D.C.: 1985.

This paper is concerned with estimating the size of the illegal alien population in the United States. It provides a critical review of several major studies of the size of that population.

Hill notes that each of the studies reviewed use numerous assumptions which limit the estimates obtained. He concludes that while no estimate

can be soundly defended, a population of 1.5 to 3.5 million illegal aliens in 1980 appears reasonably consistent with most of the studies. He also concludes that there is no empirical basis for the belief that illegal immigration increased dramatically in the late 1970's and early 1980's.

International Population Center, San Diego State University. "The Development of Information Related to U.S. and Mexican Populations." Unpublished paper, May 1987.

This paper is a report on a small technical meeting held September 29-30, 1986, in Tijuana, Mexico, at which the development of demographic information concerning the U.S. and Mexican population was discussed. Participants compared information from various immigration studies and data collection methods, and discussed possibilities for gathering new information regarding the linkages between fertility levels and other demographic characteristics in the border region.

The paper notes that estimates by Warren and Passel of undocumented persons in the United States in 1980 were feasible because of data acquired from the INS Alien Registration System, which was discontinued in 1981. The paper suggests reestablishment of that system.

The paper also notes that Mexico has time-series data on vital statistics, labor force, and other data along its northern border, and that it has just completed a survey of 34 demographic variables by border locality. Also mentioned are surveys done by Mexico in 1978 and 1984 of immigrants who have been caught and returned to Mexico. These data can be made available to U.S. researchers.

In addition, the paper mentions the following sources of data: an employment survey regularly conducted by the Mexican government, data from the Current Population Survey of the U.S. Census, and INS data on intended place of residence of illegal immigrants. Also discussed were possibilities for obtaining new information by adding questions to existing censuses and surveys.

Levine, Daniel B.; Hill, Kenneth; and Warren, Robert eds. Immigration Statistics: A Story of Neglect. National Academy Press. Washington, D.C.: 1985.

This volume grew out of a conference of the Committee on National Statistics of the National Research Council convened at the request of the

INS. The 1980 conference resulted in the formation of the Panel on Immigration Statistics. The panel's objectives were to determine the data needed to develop immigration policy, review existing data sources, identify shortcomings of immigration data and suggest remedies. This volume is the result of a 2 year study, and in addition to the panel's findings on the above topics, it includes several appendices on related issues.

Regarding data needs for immigration policy, the report begins with a description of the data collection required by law, and then examines the wider data needs of those who make and evaluate public policy. The report contains an in-depth evaluation of the INS with recommendations on how it could function more effectively. The report describes other official government sources of immigration information along with a collection of data sources and studies produced outside government.

The report concludes that the number of illegals in the United States was between 2 to 4 million at the time of the report. While the report states that the panel considered the possibility of improving estimates of the illegal population in the United States it concluded that it could not identify ways to substantially narrow uncertainty in the estimates.

The report makes many general and specific recommendations, including:

- that the Congress affirm the importance of reliable information on immigration and direct the Attorney General to examine the structure of the INS with the purpose of placing greater priority on gathering and processing statistical information;
- that the Commissioner of the INS eliminate duplication and promote efficient use of staff and resources, and establish an advisory committee of experts to advise the INS concerning data needs and data collection methods; and
- that the Commissioner of the INS establish formal liaison with other federal and state agencies involved in the collection and analysis of immigration data.

Passel, Jeffrey S. "Estimates of Undocumented Aliens in the 1980 Census for SMSAs" Memorandum to the Chief, Population Division, U.S. Bureau of the Census. August 16, 1985.

This memorandum contains estimates of undocumented aliens counted in the 1980 Census at the Standard Metropolitan Statistical Area level. It

includes 42 SMSAs and estimates are made separately for all source countries including Mexico.

Passel, Jeffrey S. and Woodrow, Karen A. "Geographic Distribution of Undocumented Immigrants: Estimates of Undocumented Aliens Counted in the 1980 Census by State." International Migration Review 18: (Fall 1984), 642-671.

This paper presents estimates of the number of undocumented aliens counted in the 1980 Census for each state and the District of Columbia. The census count of aliens, with some modifications, is compared with estimates of the legally resident alien population based on the INS Alien Address Registration System. The difference was assumed by researchers to be the number of undocumented aliens counted in the 1980 Census.

The authors estimated that of the 2.06 million undocumented aliens counted in the 1980 Census, California has the largest number with 1.02 million, or 49.8 percent of the total. New York is second, with 22.4 percent of the total, followed by Texas, Illinois and Florida. Of the estimated 1,131,000 undocumented Mexicans counted in the 1980 Census, the authors state that about 763,000 or 67 percent were in California. Texas (147,000) and Illinois (101,000) followed.

Passel, Jeffrey S. and Woodrow, Karen A. Memorandum for the Record. Population Analysis Staff, U.S. Bureau of the Census. October 29, 1986.

This memorandum provided a response to inquiries about undocumented aliens. It gives the Census Bureau's figures concerning the

- number of undocumented aliens counted in the 1980 Census;
- total number of undocumented residents in 1980;
- annual growth in the undocumented population for 1980 to 1983; and
- assumed annual growth of the undocumented population from 1980 to the date of the memorandum.

Ruth, Frederick A. "Mexican Demographic Characteristics." Testimony before the Subcommittee on Census and Population, Committee on Post Office and Civil Service. June 18, 1986.

Mr. Ruth is Director, Congressional Affairs Office, U.S. Bureau of the Census. He discusses the information the Bureau has on the demographic characteristics of Mexico, and some arrangements for data collection and exchange that it has made with Mexico's National Institute of Statistics.

Statistical Analysis Branch, Office of Plans and Analysis, U.S. Immigration and Naturalization Service. "Provisional Legalization Application Statistics." November 13, 1987.

This paper summarizes the most recent data available on the number and characteristics of legalization applicants applying under IRCA's legalization provisions. The data includes numbers of applicants by state of residence and country of citizenship, along with selected demographic characteristics such as occupation, marital status, age and sex. These data can be used to get a better estimate of the population that could possibly return to Mexico, and as a quantitative check upon the estimates flows and "pools" of illegal Mexican immigrants according to various theories of migration.

U.S. General Accounting Office. "Immigration: The Future Flow of Legal Immigration to the United States." GAO/PEMD-88-7, January 1988.

This report seeks to (1) describe and analyze past patterns of legal immigration, (2) develop projections of the numbers and characteristics of legal immigrants in future years, (3) improve current knowledge about the immigration process as it concerns immediate relatives of U.S. citizens exempt from the annual numerical limits, and (4) assess the effect of the emigration of legal immigrants on net immigration.

***Wachter, Kenneth.** "The Imputation and Treatment of Missing Data." In Immigration Statistics: A Story of Neglect. National Academy Press. Washington, D.C.: 1985.

This paper discusses issues of imputation and treatment of missing statistical data with particular reference to the presentation of data in the INS statistical yearbooks.

Warren, Robert and Passel, Jeffrey S. "A Count of the Uncountable: Estimates of Undocumented Aliens Counted in the 1980 United States Census." Demography. 24:3 (August 1987).

This study uses data from the 1980 U.S. Census and the INS to estimate the number of undocumented aliens included in the 1980 Census. The data is categorized by age group, sex, period of entry, and country of birth. The study compares the estimated 1980 Census numbers of aliens with INS naturalization data and estimates of the foreign born population residing legally in the U.S. After extensive adjustment to both data measures, the difference between the two is assumed to be the number of illegal aliens in the United States in 1980.

Warren and Passel conclude that about 2.1 million undocumented aliens were included in the 1980 Census. Of these, 1,131,000, or 55 percent, were Mexicans.

The authors note that the demise of the INS Alien Registration System make the estimate of the number of undocumented aliens counted in the 1990 Census more difficult.

Woodrow, Karen; Passel, Jeffrey S.; and Warren, Robert. "Recent Immigration to the United States—Legal and Undocumented: Analysis of Data from the June 1986 Current Population Survey." Paper presented at the annual meetings of the Population Association of America, 1987.

This paper uses data on the foreign-born population from a supplement to the June 1986 Current Population Survey to describe the growth and changes in composition of that population that have occurred since the 1980 Census.The authors note that of the components of change in the foreign-born population of the United States—legal immigration, legal emigration, net undocumented immigration, and mortality—good data are available for legal immigration only, and the others must be estimated indirectly. They note that the discontinuation of the INS Alien Registration system after 1981 eliminated the best available measure of the legally resident alien population. The paper presents estimates of the number of foreign born persons—Mexican and non-Mexican—who entered the United States during 1980-1986. It does not present estimates of net illegal migration from Mexico over that period.

Woodrow, Karen A.; Passel, Jeffrey S.; and Warren, Robert. "Preliminary Estimates of Undocumented Immigration to the United States, 1980-1986: Analysis of the June 1986 Current Population Survey." Paper presented at the 1987 annual meeting of the American Statistical Association. August 1987.

This paper, using data from the 1980 census and the November 1979 and April 1983 Current Population Survey (CPS) presents an estimate of the growth in the undocumented alien population. The estimate of annual growth of undocumented Mexican immigrants over the 1980-83 period implied by these estimates is about 170,000.

The Mexican Economy

Bagley, Bruce M. Mexico in Crisis: The Parameters of Accommodation. FPI Policy Briefs. Foreign Policy Institute, John Hopkins University. Washington, D.C.: January 1986.

This monograph provides an overview of the conditions that led to Mexico's economic crisis, and a discussion of the efforts of the Mexican government to deal with the crisis.

Bank of Mexico. The Mexican Economy: Economic and Financial Developments in 1986, Policies for 1987. Bank of Mexico. 1987.

This publication offers an "official" view of conditions in the Mexican economy in early 1987, and a discussion of factors affecting the country's economy over the preceding several years. For example, the document discusses exchange rate policy, external debt, prices, and trade policy, and also contains a large number of statistical tables on economic and financial developments in Mexico collected by the Bank of Mexico and Mexican government agencies.

CIEMEX-WEFA: Mexican Economic Outlook. CIEMEX Wharton Econometric Forecasting Associates. 19:2 (May 1987)

CIEMEX-WEFA, Inc. was formerly a subsidiary of Wharton Econometrics and is now an independent forecasting service. This publication describes CIEMEX's May 1987 economic forecast for Mexico. CIEMEX's macroeconomic model of Mexico has 850 variables used for projections in the areas of aggregate demand, production and labor markets, inflation and exchange rates, international trade, external debt and capital flows, the public sector, and financial markets.

Goulet, Denis. Mexico: Development Strategies for the Future. Helen Kellog Institute for International Studies, University of Notre Dame Press. Notre Dame, Indiana: 1983.

This publication discusses development issues in Mexico related to agriculture, inflation, productivity, foreign debt, and other areas. The paper

summarizes proposed development strategies, and profiles their authors.

Reynolds, Clark W. "Mexico's Economic Crisis and the United States: Toward a Rational Response." In Donald L. Wyman, ed., Mexico's Economic Crisis: Challenges and Opportunities. Center for U.S.-Mexican Studies, University of California, San Diego, California. 1983.

This article examines factors which account for declining productivity growth in Mexico, and developments in the economic relationship between Mexico and the United States. The paper includes recommendations concerning the best U.S. response to Mexico's current economic crisis.

U.S. General Accounting Office. "International Trade: Commerce Department Conference on Mexico's Maquiladora Program." GAO/NSIAD-87-77BR. April 1987.

This report, by reviewing the Commerce Department's participation in a 1986 conference aimed to promote U.S. firms' participation in Mexico's Maquiladora investment program, provides a historical background of the program.

Wyman, Donald L. "The Mexican Economy: Problems and Prospects." In Donald L. Wyman, ed., Mexico's Economic Crisis: Challenges and Opportunities. Center for U.S. Mexican Studies, University of California, San Diego, California. 1983.

This paper discusses the origins of Mexico's economic crisis and the stabilization measures that the crisis precipitated. Wyman notes that Mexico has done very well in achieving its objective of an improved trade position, but also notes that this improvement followed a severe austerity program including a cutback of imports and the cost of employment and wages.

The Mexican Economy: Mexican Village

Adelman, Irma; Taylor, J. Edward; and Vogel, Stephen. "Life in a Mexican Village: A SAM Perspective." Paper presented at the International Symposium on the Social Accounting Matrix (SAM) Methods and Applications, Naples, Italy, June, 1987.

This paper used an analytical technique known as the Social Accounting Matrix (SAM) to analyze the economic structure of the rural economy in

Mexico which generates immigrants. A village SAM was constructed by the researchers using 1982 household data from a community in central Mexico. The SAM is a matrix representation of five sectors of the village economy: farming, livestock, fishing/wood gathering, construction, and retail activities.

The study concluded that the image of a rural Mexican village as being isolated and self-contained is wrong. Trade and migration significantly alters consumption and investment possibilities, as well as the social life of the village. The study found that remittances from migrants, both from the Mexico and from the United States, to be vital to the village economy and a significant anti-poverty factor. The study included a mathematical experiment to determine the effect if migration remittances from U.S. migrants are cut in half. As a result, household income dropped by 18.2 percent, substantially increasing village poverty.

Taylor, J. Edward. "U.S. Immigration Policy and the Mexican Economy." Unpublished paper. June 1987.

This paper examines Mexico's economic dependence on illegal Mexico-U.S. migration, discussing migration to the United States from Mexico in a historical context, the existence of migration networks, and the impact of Mexico-to-U.S. migration on the Mexican village economy. The author concludes that economic development in Mexico may be the only effective deterrent to illegal Mexico-U.S. migration.

The Mexican Labor Market

Alba, Francisco. "Migrant Workers, Employment Opportunities and Remittances: The Pattern of Labor Interchange Between Mexico and the United States." Working Paper. Georgetown University Center for Immigration Policy and Refugee Assistance. June 1985.

See summary under History and Characteristics of Mexican Migration to the United States, p. 26.

Alejo, Francisco Javier. "Demographic Patterns and Labor Market Trends in Mexico." In Donald L. Wyman, ed., Mexico's Economic Crisis: Challenges and Opportunities. Center for U.S.-Mexican Studies, University of California, San Diego, California: 1983.

Alejo, from Mexico's Ministry of Finance, discusses the history of Mexico's economic development in light of its demographics. He states that a

1974 government report was still (in 1983) valid in characterizing Mexico's unemployment problems not being solved through short-term approaches.

Arizpe, Lourdes. "The Rural Exodus in Mexico and Mexican Migration to the United States." In Peter G. Brown and Henry Shue, ed., The Border That Joins. Rowman and Littlefield, Totowa, New Jersey: 1983.

See summary under History and Characteristics of Mexican Migration to the United States, p. 27.

***Barrientos, Guido A.; Hosch, Harmon M.; Alvarez, Adolfo J.; Lucker, G. William.** Research on employment opportunities in Mexico for undocumented border crossers as a function of manpower needs, September 1986. Cited on page 236 of the International Guide to Research on Mexico. Center for U.S.-Mexican Studies, University of California, San Diego and El Colegio de la Frontera Norte, Tijuana, Baja California: 1986.

This study is designed to determine the manpower needs of Mexico and those that will be created with the implementation of Mexico's 1983-1988 National Development Plan. The study examines the willingness of illegal Mexican immigrants apprehended and incarcerated in the U.S. to obtain vocational training at a federal correctional institution in occupations for which a labor demand exists and will persist in Mexico. The researchers are to administer a questionnaire to 100 Mexican nationals convicted of illegal entry into the United States and incarcerated in La Tuna Federal Correctional Institution for that reason. The researchers also will determine the attitudes of Mexican industrialists about hiring of these immigrants who have been trained in such a program. The results will provide the U.S. Bureau of Prisons with a vocational training program for Mexico's undocumented workers.

***Bradshaw, Benjamin S. and Frisbie, W. Parker.** "Potential Labor Force Supply and Replacement in Mexico and the States of the Mexican Cession and Texas: 1980-2000." International Migration Review, 17: (Fall 1983), 394-409.

This paper tries

"to carry forward the examination of potential labor force supply and replacement of men in Mexico into the 1980-1990 and 1990-2000 decades so that the possible

future course of international migration between that country and the United States may be better anticipated."

Center for International Research, U.S. Bureau of the Census. "Potential Labor Emigration from the Philippines, India, China, and Mexico." Unpublished Manuscript. 1986.

This study is a comparison of the projected size of the labor force in each of the above countries with that country's potential labor force absorption through the year 2000.

The study projects the population of Mexico increasing to 113 million in the year 2000, growing about 2.5 percent per year. The labor force is projected to grow about 3 percent per year from 1985-2000, and the economy is projected to grow about 1 percent per year over that period. Thus, excess labor in Mexico is projected to grow from about 3 million in 1985 to about 13 million in the year 2000.

The study states that an assumed one percent annual rate of economic growth is stated to be quite low, because it also projects that Mexico would need an annual economic growth rate of four percent for a 15 year period to attain full employment.

Gregory, Peter. The Myth of Market Failure: Employment and the Labor Market in Mexico. The Johns Hopkins University Press. 1986.

This book is an extensive examination of the Mexican labor market. The author brings together a variety of official and private statistical sources, and published analyses to draw his conclusions regarding trends in unemployment, the agricultural sector, internal and international labor migration, and wages in Mexico over the period 1940-1980.

The author has some skepticism regarding the existence of a labor "problem" in Mexico, noting that economy's sustained growth over the period 1940-1980, but the relevance of this work for the analysis of current labor market conditions in Mexico is limited because it does not consider changes in economic conditions in Mexico since 1982.

Inter-American Development Bank. Economic and Social Progress in Latin America, 1987 Report. Inter-American Development Bank, Washington, D.C., 1987.

This report is one of a series published by the Inter-American Development Bank since 1961. The special theme of this report is labor force and employment in Latin America, 1950-2000. There are individual sections on the economic situation in 25 Latin American member countries of the bank, including Mexico.

Massey, Douglas; Alarcon, Rafael; Durand, Jorge; and Gonzalez, Humberto. Return to Aztlan. Berkeley: University of California Press. 1987.

See summary under History and Characteristics of Mexcian Migration to the United States, p. 34.

O'Connor, Susan and Arriaga, Eduardo E. "Mexico's Demographic Trends and Employment Prospects." International Demographics, 3:5 (May 1984).

This brief paper considers the relationships among and projects to the year 2000 the growth of Mexico's population, labor force, and economy. The paper predicts that Mexico's working age population will grow faster than its total population which will experience an increase in education levels and a decline in fertility. The authors conclude that past population growth has created an age structure in the labor force that will make it extremely difficult to reduce unemployment in Mexico during the rest of this century.

***Pommier, Paulette.** "The Place of Mexico City in the Nation's Growth: Employment Trends and Policies." International Labour Review, 121: (May-June 1982), 345-360.

This paper shows how Mexico's capital has developed its own characteristic pattern of employment over the different stages of its growth and analyzes the part public authorities played in this process.

Mexican Immigration and the U.S. Labor Market

Bean, Frank D.; Lowell, B. Lindsay; and Taylor, Lowell J. "Undocumented Mexican Immigrants and the Earnings of Other Workers in the United States." Paper presented at the annual meetings of the Population Association of America, San Francisco: April 1986.

See summary under Mexican Immigration Statistics: Stocks and Flows of Immigrants, p. 41.

Borjas, George J. "Immigrants, Minorities, and Labor Market Competition." Industrial and Labor Relations Review 40:3 (April 1987), 673-689.

This paper investigates the extent of labor market competition among immigrants, minorities, and the native population, using 1980 U.S. Census data. The author finds that, in general, immigrants tend to be substitutes for some labor market groups and complements for others.

The paper notes that the Mexican immigrants have had a negative but small impact on the earnings of both white and black native-born men. The impact of additional Mexican immigrants on the earnings of those Mexican immigrants already in the United States is also negative and much larger. For example, a 10 percent increase in the supply of Mexicans will lead to about a 10 percent decrease in the wages of Mexican immigrants. Because U.S. Census data is used, the paper does not distinguish between documented and undocumented immigrants.

Borjas, George J. "Self-Selection and the Earnings of Immigrants." Working Paper No. 2248, National Bureau of Economic Research, Inc. Cambridge, Massachusetts: May 1987.

This technical paper reaches several conclusions about what level of labor market skills one would expect from workers who immigrate to the United States. The paper begins with a theoretical analysis of the individual's decision whether to migrate and then employs data from the 1970 and 1980 U.S. Censuses to estimate the impact of several factors which may influence that decision.

These factors include the political and economic conditions in the various countries of origin and income level of the individual in the home country. For example, if the home country protects low-income workers from poor labor market outcomes and significantly taxes the high income worker, the incentive for a "brain drain" of emigration is increased.

The paper compares the 1980 to the 1970 immigrants to the United States from forty one countries, including Mexico, noting how the researcher's country-specific observation's effect the quality (earnings relative to skills) of these foreign-born persons relative to white, non-Hispanic, non-Asian U.S. native men.

The paper presents some country-specific results. For Mexico, Borjas finds that in 1970 the most recent immigrants earned about 33 percent

less than a comparison group of white male U.S. workers, and their earnings relative to that comparison group increased by about 2 percent after one year. In 1980, the most recent Mexican immigrants earned about 40 percent less than the same comparison group and their relative earnings increased by 0.3 percent after the first year. The results are consistent with the hypothesis that the later immigrants from Mexico had fewer job skills relative to U.S. workers than did the earlier immigrants.

Borjas, George J., and Tienda, Marta. "Economic Consequences of Immigration." Science 235: (February 6, 1987), 645-651.

This article cites research supporting the following conclusions concerning the economic consequences of immigration: 1) the overall impacts of immigrant workers on the earnings of natives are small, but differ for population subgroups; 2) immigrants who arrived during the 1970's are less skilled than earlier arrivals and will earn less; and 3) there is inconclusive evidence on immigrants' receipt of public assistance income.

Chiswick, Barry R. "An Economic Analysis of the Employers of Illegal Aliens." Paper prepared for and cited with the permission of the Research Workshop on the Changing Roles of Mexican Immigrants in the U.S. Economy: Sectoral Perspectives Center for U.S.-Mexican Studies, University of California, San Diego, California: August 1987.

This paper analyzes the similarities and differences between a sample of employers listed by INS where illegal aliens were apprehended, and employers randomly selected from industry directories. The author draws several conclusions including: (1) the skill level of the workers is considerably lower in the establishments known to have employed an illegal alien; (2) the payment of workers, in part or entirely in cash, was about the same in INS and the general sample; and (3) the workers' illegal status in both samples did not detract from their job opportunities. The author further concludes that the introduction of employer sanctions per se may not have a significant deterrent effect on illegal immigration.

Chiswick, Barry R. "Mexican Immigrants: The Economic Dimension." The Annals of the American Academy 487: (September 1986) 92-101.

See summary under History and Characteristics of Mexican Migration to the United States, p. 31.

Cornelius, Wayne. "Potential Impacts of New Federal Immigration Legislation on Immigrant-Dependent Firms and Industries in California." Paper presented at the annual meeting of the Association of American Law Schools, January 1987.

In this paper, the author, who is the Director of the Center for U.S.-Mexican Studies, reports some preliminary findings of a study of the role of Mexican labor in the California economy. The study focused on 177 firms in non-agricultural sectors, each with a high proportion of Mexican immigrants in its work force.

The study found that 41 percent of the firms were unionized, and entry-level wages were above the minimum wage. Sixty-one percent of the Mexican immigrants in the study migrated from urban Mexico and were better educated than those in previous studies. Only about 4 percent of the workers interviewed were paid in cash, and virtually all the employers withheld taxes. More than half of the employers in the study ask for documentary proof of legal status.

Garcia y Griego, Manuel. "The Importation of Mexican Contract Laborers to the United States, 1942-1964; Antecedents, Operation, and Legacy." In The Border That Joins. Peter G. Brown and Henry Shue, ed. Rowman and Littlefield, Totowa, New Jersey: 1983.

This chapter describes the historical development and operation of the bracero program and assesses its legacy for the current policy debate. It provides an overview of the history of Mexican migration to the United States between 1900-1940 before the bracero program. The bracero agreement between the United States and Mexico established a program unprecedented in the history of both nations which resulted in a large-scale, sustained, recruitment and contracting system of temporary migrant workers from Mexico. The chapter notes, that over time, each of the two governments intervened in determining the course of migratory flow. At times, the United States acted to attract Mexican immigrants; at other times it acted to restrict their entry and expel those already in the United States. The Mexican government more consistently opposed immigration to the U.S., although it did not always act vigorously to retain or return its citizens. The chapter reviews the changes in the two nations' views on Mexican immigration to the U.S. and their respective bargaining strengths. It also examines the responses of both nations to the end of the bracero era and discusses employer sanctions and legalization measures, now included in IRCA, that were actively considered during the "wetback" operation of the early 1950s.

Jones, Richard C. and Murray, William Breen. "Occupational and Spatial Mobility of Temporary Mexican Migrants to the U.S.: A Comparative Analysis," International Migration Review. 20: (Winter 1986).

This article compares U.S. job and spatial mobility for Mexican migrants to the U.S. from two Mexican areas—Rio Grande, Zocatecas in the interior, and Nuevo Rosita-Muzquiz, Coahuila near the U.S. border. The researchers used interview schedules to ascertain personal data, work history, earnings and expenditures, and miscellaneous data. Migrants from both origin areas were predominantly undocumented; however, the Coahuila sample had a considerably higher incidence of documented, better-educated and younger migrants. Results suggest that the interior migrants move from U.S. rural areas to towns and cities, experiencing substantial job mobility at first, but little after reaching the urban sector. Border migrants return to the same job and place year after year, experiencing little or no spatial and occupational mobility.

***King, Allan G.; Lowell, B. Lindsay, and Bean, Frank D.** "The Effects of Hispanic Immigrants on the Earnings of Native Hispanic Americans." Social Science Quarterly 67:4 (December 1986), 673-689.

"This article explores the impact of Hispanic immigrants on the wages of Hispanic natives with 1970 Census data. Two (statistical) models of wage determination yield similar results: the relative size of the Hispanic immigrant population in U.S. labor markets has small but positive effects on native Hispanic earnings."

Mariscal, Jorge O. "Dimension and Impact of Undocumented Migration from Mexico to the United States." Institute for Economic Analysis, New York University, October 1986.

This paper reviews the available evidence on the numbers of undocumented Mexican migrants and the economic and social effects of the migrants on both the United States and Mexico. The author reviews information on the size of both the migration stock and cross border flows. The paper discusses (1) employment distribution of undocumented Mexican workers by occupational category, (2) geographic distribution of these workers in the United States, (3) the distribution of hourly wages in their most recent U.S. jobs, (4) the fiscal costs and contributions of undocumented migrants to the U.S. taxpayers, and (5) the worker's remittances to Mexico.

The paper presents the idea that the immediate cause of the migration problem is the proximity and economic differences between Mexico and

the United States and that the legal and illegal flows of migrants will continue as long as the two countries maintain economic differences. The author also concludes that some sections of the U.S. society have been negatively affected by the presence of migrant workers—in that unskilled American workers, who could potentially compete with migrants, have probably suffered some displacement effects and that migrants contribute to depressing domestic wages. However, he asserts that it is likely that the economic activity indirectly generated by the presence of inexpensive and productive migrant labor may have contributed job opportunities from which American workers benefitted. The paper states that migrants contribute more taxes than what they receive in benefits.

McCarthy, Kevin F. and Valdez, R. Burciaga. "Current and Future Effects of Mexican Immigration in California." Rand Corporation, November 1985.

See summary under History and Characteristics of Mexican Migration to the United States, p. 35.

North, David S., and Houstoun, Marion F. The Characteristics and Role of Illegal Aliens in the U.S. Labor Market: An Exploratory Study. Linton and Company, Inc., Washington, D.C.: 1976.

This study gathered information on the demographic characteristics, country of origin, employment history, wages, and participation in public services of 793 illegal aliens apprehended by the INS in 1975 included 481 Mexicans. The authors conducted interviews in 19 cities around the United States and found that most of the illegal aliens were young adults who were employed primarily in low-wage, low-skill jobs, with significantly less education than the U.S. labor force. The study reports an average $129 per month sent to Mexico by each worker.

Remittances to Mexico

Alba, Franscisco. "Migrant Workers, Employment Opportunities and Remittances: The Pattern of Labor Interchange Between Mexico and the United States." Working paper. Georgetown University Center for Immigration Policy and Refugee Assistance. June 1985.

See summary under History and Characteristics of Mexican Migration to the United States, p. 26.

Diez-Canedo-Ruiz, Juan. A New View of Mexican Migration to the United States. Ph.D. Dissertation. Massachusetts Institute of Technology, May 1980.

The author critically analyzes estimates of the numbers of illegal Mexican immigrants and the level of the dollars they remit to the United States.

The author introduces a technique to estimate the level of remittances from the money orders and personal checks received from the U.S. by a sample of Mexican commercial banks. From his estimate of levels of remittances, he also estimated the number of Mexicans working illegally in the United States. The author's estimate of the value of remittances in 1975 was $317 million to $534 million and his estimate of the number of illegal Mexican workers was 815,000. The paper concluded that most other studies known at this time of the author's research overestimate both the level of remittances and the number of illegal workers.

The author concluded from that the most important sources of illegal migrants were Guanajuato, Zacatecas, and the Mexico City metropolitan area and that the most frequent destinations for the illegal Mexican workers were California, Illinois, Texas, New York, and Minnesota. He attributed the differences between his findings and those of some other researchers to their use of INS apprehension data, which may over represent certain source regions and destinations and types of workers.

North, David S., and Houstoun, Marion F. The Characteristics and Role of Illegal Aliens in the U.S. Labor Market: An Exploratory Study. Linton and Company, Inc., Washington, D.C.: 1976.

See summary under Mexican Immigration and the U.S. Labor Market p. 60.

Ranney, Susan and Kossoudji, Sherrie. "Profiles of Temporary Mexican Labor Migrants in the United States," Population and Development Review, 9:3 (September 1983), 475-493.

See summary History and Characteristics of Mexican Migration to the United States p. 37.

Stark, Oded; Taylor, J. Edward, and Yitzhaki, Shlomo. "Remittances and Inequality," The Economic Journal 96 (September 1986) pp. 722-740.

In this study, the authors propose a framework and development technique for analyzing the role of remittances in village income inequalities and village welfare.

They use household data from two Mexican villages to compare the effects of remittances from both internal and international migrants on income inequality in villages that are at different stages in their migration histories. Although the villages are only two miles apart and similar in terms of family size, they show significantly different migration patterns, and remittances from Mexicans working in the United States constitute a much larger share of total household income in one village than in the other.

From the results of their empirical analysis, the authors conclude that the impact of immigration remittances on the rural income distribution appears to depend strongly on a village's migration history and the degree to which migration opportunities are different across village households. They find that in a village where many households contain internal migrants but where few have experienced migration to the United States, remittances from migrants in the United States have a strong unequalizing impact on the distribution of village income while remittances from internal migrants have an equalizing impact.

However, remittances from migrants in the United States have an equalizing impact on incomes in a village with a long history of sending migrants to the United States and thus greater access to U.S. labor markets. In that same village, remittances from internal migrants have an unequalizing impact of income distribution because such remittances are correlated with education, which is also highly correlated with household income.

Taylor, J. Edward. "Undocumented Mexico-U.S. Migration and the Returns to Households in Rural Mexico." A revised version of Urban Institute Paper No, 3394-07-1.

This paper presents estimates of net income gains to a sample of households in rural Mexico gained from sending migrants illegally to the United States. The data were from households interviewed in the state

of Michoacan in 1983. The author develops a theoretical model of migration and estimates its values using these data.

The author reported that illegal migrants to the U.S. were from neither the poorest nor the richest households in the region. He found no evidence that people who migrated illegally to the United States are above average contributors to household income. He also reported that remittances increased as a migrant gained work experience in the United States.

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